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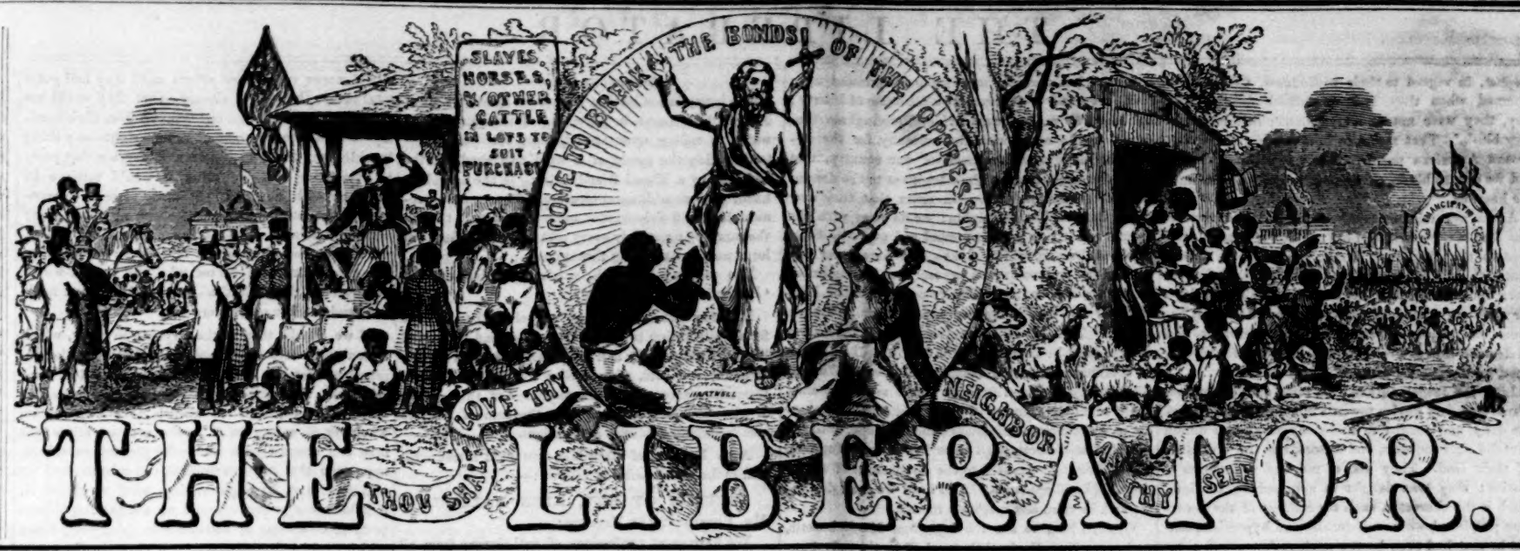
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE FOR SALE AT PUBLIC AUCTION
COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED
LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF
THOU SHALT
THE LIBERATOR.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

**The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'**

☞ 'The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but *they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke.* On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and *must walk in it.* To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.' — WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. | Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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## REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Charleston Mercury.

### SOUTH CAROLINA BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

*Its Action in Regard to the Late Proceedings of the Parent Society.*

The following is an authentic copy of the Report and Resolutions alluded to in our paper of Wednesday last:—

The undersigned, members of the Committee to whom were referred the report and other papers connected with the late proceedings of the American Tract Society, on the subject of slavery, beg leave to submit the following Report and Resolutions:—

The American Tract Society was established, as it is expressed in the Constitution (Art. 1.) to 'diffuse a knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ as the Redeemer of sinners, and to promote the interests of vital godliness and sound morality, by the circulation of religious tracts calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians.'

In pursuance of this object, the Society and its agencies have for thirty years acted with great zeal, harmony and efficiency, in printing and distributing religious works, and their publications have, hitherto received the cordial sanction and approval of evangelical Christians in all parts of the country.— United together in bonds of mutual love, Christians of various names have devoted their means and combined their efforts to promote this great and philanthropic work, and the blessings of God have crowned and rewarded, in a very remarkable degree, their self-denying and charitable labors.

Nevertheless, for some time past, Southern Christians have been made aware of the fact, that the same restless faction, whose untiring agitations against slavery have introduced confusion and division into every body which has allowed their influence, were also at work in the American Tract Society, striving to intimidate its officers, and pervert the principles upon which the Society's operations was based, with the hope of converting it into an engine for the promotion of their fanatical and mischievous designs.

We saw, therefore, with unmingled regret and reprobation, the appointment of a Committee to inquire into and review the proceedings of the Executive Committee, for we knew full well from what quarter this movement proceeded, and were satisfied that only mischievous consequences could follow from the least concession to these unhappy agitators.

The Report and Resolutions introduced by that Committee, and unanimously adopted by the Society, at its last annual meeting, have fulfilled all our fears. Their language, however carefully chosen, can be shown to admit of but one construction, viz., that the form of domestic servitude prevailing at the South is a moral evil in itself, (*per se,*) and as such, that its maintenance is incompatible with the prevalence of Christian truth; and their recommendations, if acted upon, will afford Northern fanatics the opportunity, so eagerly sought, of assailing Southern institutions through the presses of the American Tract Society. Your Committee are unwilling, in a matter of so much importance, to rest upon simple assertion, and therefore beg leave to offer a few words in illustration of each point.

That the Report treats slavery as a moral evil *per se*, and, therefore, as a feature in our social system which must finally yield to the prevalence of Christian truth, and that it looks forward to its removal as one of the results which the American Tract Society may hope gradually to accomplish by the influence of Christian enlightenment, although precluded by its Constitution from discussing it directly, is evident from the language of both the Report and Resolutions.

In the 6th paragraph of the Report, p. 225, we are rejoiced to find recorded with devout thankfulness to God the harmony and Christian confidence that prevailed in the Committee in the discussion and adoption of the Resolutions on the 'subject of slavery.' In the 8th paragraph, same page, the following language explicitly plainly the sentiments of its authors with regard to slavery, and their anxiety that nothing should be done *precipitately* by the American Tract Society, to bring about its abolition:—'It should be constantly borne in mind,' they say, 'that the work of faith is not complete without the labor of love and the patience of hope. And who can doubt that, with such influences as faith, hope and charity, in alliance with that chastened patience that is willing to wait for the fruit until the harvest season, [i. e. slavery) '*and all other moral evil, shall yield to the promised triumphs of the everlasting gospel.*'

And in the 2d Resolution, slavery is virtually classed with drunkenness, war, popery, as thus:— 'Resolved, that this Society cannot, therefore, with propriety, allow itself to be made a special organ of any one system of religious or moral reform, such as temperance, peace, anti-popery, anti-slavery, &c.'

Your Committee observe that such a view of slavery, as is here set forth, is in perfect consistency with the assertions of the 4th Resolution, that there are certain 'moral evils and vices,' 'condemned in Scripture,' and greatly 'deplored by evangelical Christians,' which 'slavery is known to promote.' It is to be anticipated that an evil tree will bring forth evil fruit, and the Society, being satisfied that both the tree and its fruit are evil, should look forward even though it be in 'chastened patience' to its removal.

Your Committee do not question the right of Northern Christians to entertain such sentiments with regard to slavery, but they do deny their right to make them a basis of action for a Society which includes a multitude of Christians, both North and South, whose views of slavery, drawn as they believe from the Word of God, are essentially different, and they are more than ever convinced of the impossibility of committing the preparation and publication of tracts upon this most delicate and irritating subject, to men, however excellent in other respects, who differ from us upon what may be justly called first principles.

Your Committee are also compelled to regard the recommendations of that report as changing, in very important respects, the attitude of the American Tract Society towards the subject of slavery, and as opening a wider door through which Northern fanatics may advance to disturb our peace and assail our religion. It matters little that the avenue, so opened, is at present occupied by our friends, since they have themselves aided, we cannot but think most imprudently, in removing the bar erected by the Constitution of the Society against the enemy will which now threatens it. Under the first article of the Constitution, the operations of the Society were expressly limited to the circulation of *religious tracts calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians.*' Under this provision, the Publishing Committee possessed, and have hitherto exercised, a discretionary power of deciding what tracts were *calculated* to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians; and finding that, upon the vexed question of slavery, evangelical Christians were at variance upon the very first point of its existence, they wisely determined to be silent altogether, and leave the discussion of the duties and responsibilities involved in the system with their Christian brethren at the South, to whom it properly belonged. They did not suppose that they stood committed to slavery, or could fairly be charged with sympathizing with it, because they avoided it as a subject upon which their constituents were not agreed, and on which it was hardly possible for them to publish anything 'calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians.' That they should have allowed themselves to be pressed by any urgency from this truly constitutional platform, is to your Committee a subject of the deepest regret. But they cannot hide it from themselves that this is the case. By the fourth resolution, already in part quoted, the Publishing Committee stand instructed, that 'those moral duties which grow out of the system of slavery, as well as those moral evils and vices which it is known to promote, and which are condemned in Scripture, and so much deplored by evangelical Christians, *undoubtedly do fall within the province of this Society, and can and ought to be discussed in a fraternal and Christian spirit.*'

If, as your Committee believe, *nothing* calculated to receive the approbation of *all* evangelical Christians can be put forth by the American Tract Society, on the subject of slavery, in the present disturbed state of public feeling, the Publishing Committee are not only authorized, but obliged, by this resolution, to violate the fundamental Article of the Society's Constitution. And, as if to leave no room for doubt upon this point, the attention of those who may desire to discuss the subject is officially directed to certain '*moral evils*' and '*moral vices*' which '*slavery is known to promote,*' which are '*condemned in Scripture,*' and '*so much deplored by evangelical Christians.*' The word *all* before *evangelical* is here dropped, and we feel that it must be dropped also out of the first Article of the Constitution before a single tract can be published under that resolution.

Your Committee think it due to the great body of Christians at the South, whom this Society represents, to add, that Southern Christians are not unwilling to consider their duties in regard to those whom the Providence of God has placed under their care and government; nor do they shrink from the discussion, in the proper place and manner, of any evils incident to this, as to other social and family relations, in the present fallen state of humanity. But they utterly deny that slavery is more or otherwise an evil than poverty, or other forms of servitude; and they cannot listen to teachings which are based upon the unwarranted assumptions that lie at the bottom of this Report. Had the Society recognized slavery as an existing social institution, upon the lawfulness or merits of which it did not feel called to pronounce—had it then resolved 'that it was within its province to discuss the moral duties which grow out of its existence, and the *temptations* to which both master and slave are exposed, as those duties and those temptations are exhibited in Scripture'—your committee might have questioned the expediency of such a resolution at this time, and tremble at the dangers of this perplexed navigation upon which the Publishing Committee were instructed to enter—they might have anticipated little practical benefit to either master or slave from the well-meaning attempts of men, who, however zealous, were unacquainted with the relation as it actually subsists at the South—but they could not have denied the Society the right to publish, even on this subject, anything which, according to the first Article of the Society's Constitution, was 'calculated to receive the approbation of *all* evangelical Christians.' But when the very Report, which asserts the right and duty of discussion, proceeds, under the sanction of venerated names, to stigmatize our whole social arrangement as a '*moral evil,*' and '*promotive of moral evil,*' ranking it, consistently enough, with war, popery and drunkenness, and when the same Report, having laid this platform of operations, goes on to invite the aid of every fanatical sciolist towards the great work of reform—your committee feel that nothing but 'strife and evil work' can possibly ensue from a discussion so inaugurated. And your Committee must add, moreover, that their confidence is greatly impaired in the discretion and impartiality of those who could see nothing in this Report and these Resolutions injurious to the rights and position of their brethren of the South.

It is an additional ground of alarm and suspicion that speeches of a most dangerous character*—incendiary both in phrase and spirit, were delivered on the occasion, and *embodied by the Publishing Committee in their Annual Report.*

Under these circumstances, your Committee have felt very much at a loss what to recommend. Their first feelings of indignation prompted them to advise an immediate separation, at whatever cost, from a Society which had so grossly disregarded their rights and wounded their sensibilities; but various considerations have at length prevailed with them, to recommend another and more moderate course, which they trust this body will find it not inconsistent with its dignity to adopt.

Before submitting the resolutions which they have prepared, they would briefly advert to some of the considerations by which they have been influenced in coming to this conclusion.

First: It seemed to be more consistent with the spirit of that holy, meek and patient religion which we profess, to err rather on the side of long suffering and forbearance, in cases like the present, where no further aggression or injury is likely to be the result of a reasonable delay.

Secondly: They entertain the highest respect for the Christian character of the Executive Committee, and feel much sympathy for them in the trying position which they have occupied for several years past. The recent action of the Society was, your Committee believe, almost as unacceptable to them as to ourselves, and we know that they are earnestly desirous to repair any injury likely to result therefrom. Under these circumstances, your Committee feel unwilling to embarrass them by any precipitate action, which would only tend to throw them irredeemably into the power of the Abolition faction.

Thirdly: They feel the profoundest unwillingness to destroy, or even hazard the existence of an organization which has accomplished so much for the souls of men and the spread of Christian truth. That Satan and his emissaries should achieve a triumph like this, is hateful to their minds, and they earnestly desire to be in no degree whatever responsible for such a result. It is their hope and prayer that the Society, which numbers in its ranks so many of the truest servants of God, when made aware of Southern sentiment upon this matter, will, in the same spirit of Christian forbearance and candor, withdraw from its recent position, and return in good faith to that platform of the Constitution from whence the affairs of the Society have been so peacefully, happily, and successfully administered for the last thirty years. But since this cannot be done until the next annual meeting of the Society, they recommend that no final step be taken until after that meeting be held. Therefore,

Resolved, That we will take no final action on the question of separating from the parent Society until the opportunity has been afforded it, by the recurrence of another anniversary, of receding from the unconstitutional position assumed at its last annual meeting.

Resolved, That the Board of Directors of this Society be requested to enter into correspondence with the officers of the several Southern Agencies, for the purpose of exchanging views, and concerting measures, looking to the formation of a Southern Tract Society, in case the parent Society shall refuse to render us the justice we demand at their hands.

Resolved, That, in the meantime, we deem it necessary, under the circumstances of the case, and to prevent the dissemination of books and tracts which might be objectionable, to exercise a general supervision of the Society's works, within our territorial limits, and to suffer no tract or book to circulate without the approval of a Committee, appointed for that purpose.

Resolved, That we will henceforward elect our own Secretary, Depositary, or Treasurer, and General Agent; the election of these officers, for the present, being subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Parent Society, who shall, jointly with ourselves, endorse their certificates of appointment.

Resolved, That we will consider all applications within our bounds, for Colporteurs, and will commission those appointed, subject to the same restrictions as above. And that each Colporteur shall be furnished, for his protection, with a list of the Society's publications, certified to as unobjectionable, by the Committee on Revision.

Resolved, That all moneys collected within our bounds for Colportage, &c., shall be paid over to our own Treasurer or Depositary, who shall keep an open account with the Treasurer of the Parent Society;—render to him a quarterly statement of the accounts paid in, and have the same acknowledged in the *American Messenger.*

Resolved, That this Report and these Resolutions be published in all the papers of our city, with the request that papers in the country, and in our sister States, will also copy and publish them.

It is in the most friendly feeling to the American Tract Society, as originally constituted, and with a deep interest in the work which lies before it, throughout our whole country, and with a desire to restore the confidence which has been so much shaken by the unconstitutional course pursued, that we propose this plan for the future prosecution of the great work committed to us, as the only one that appears to be practicable; and we would represent to our friends at the South, that as all the colporteurs now in the field in South Carolina and the adjacent States are under the superintendence of the highly esteemed officers connected with the South Carolina Branch of the American Tract Society; as these colporteurs are themselves Southern men; as no works or tracts are circulated which do not pass through our Depository, and it is evident, from the foregoing Report, that no interference with the subject of slavery will be permitted through any agency of the American Tract Society, we indulge the reasonable hope that the operations of the South Carolina Branch of the American Tract Society will receive undiminished and even increasing support, confidence and co-operation, at their hands.

GEORGE A. TRENHOLM,
WILLIAM E. MARTIN,
DANIEL RAVENEL,
Rev. Dr. T. SMYTH,
Rev. Dr. J. BACHMAN,
Rev. JAMES H. ELLIOTT.

* See especially Mr. Carpenter's address.

### AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

From the *Central Presbyterian*, published at Richmond, Va., we copy the following, for the purpose of showing how the recent action of the American Tract Society is likely to be regarded at the South. But the end is not yet. The rapacious maw of Abolitionism is just as unsatisfied as it was from the outset, and cries for more—more. In the first place, it demands that the resolution on the subject of slavery shall be carried into practice according to their *understanding* of its meaning; which in fact comprehends the whole field of anti-slavery discussion. See N. Y. *Independent* of May 21st, where it is seriously proposed that among other things the Society shall publish a chapter from Uncle Tom's Cabin. Or at least, it is claimed that this might properly be done under the resolution. Next, it is demanded that that great and good man, Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D. D., of Boston, shall be sacrificed to the Moloch of Abolitionism, by superseding him as a member of the Publishing Committee; not because he has ever said or done anything amiss in that position, but because he wrote the 'South Side View of Slavery,'—a book which merely tells the honest truth, and which it is much easier to denounce than to gainsay. The fact is, Abolitionists and conservative men *cannot co-operate* in publishing Tracts on Slavery; and the sooner this is understood and agreed on, the better it will be for all concerned. We fear the troubles of the Tract Society have but just begun. One thing may be taken for granted, viz., that the conservative men of the Society, who contribute most of the money to its treasury, will not yield another inch; and some of them are thoroughly convinced that they did wrong, besides acting very unwisely, in consenting to *any* departure from the original and proper basis of the Society's operations. They did it for the sake of peace; but they might have known that no peace can be had by conceding to Abolitionists, until you have conceded everything, and become Abolitionists yourselves.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

From the Central Presbyterian.

With disappointment and sorrow have we perused the resolutions unanimously adopted at the recent meeting of the American Tract Society.

Hitherto the publications of this Society have been regulated by principles truly *American*, as well as evangelical; discussions calculated to stir up sectional animosities have been strictly inhibited; and upon the broad basis of Catholic unity in the reception and maintenance of the fundamental truths of Revelation, the Society has secured the confidence and co-operation of Christians of different denominations, and has scattered millions of 'the leaves which are for the healing of the nations.'

During this long period of prosperity and heavenblest efficiency, attempts, sometimes sly and insidious, at others undisguised and audacious, have been repeatedly made to revolutionise the character of the Society, and to convert it into an anti-slavery propaganda—but until now without the smallest success. So evidently did all good men appear to see that the only possible means of retaining the patronage which the Society received from all sections of the country, was by peremptorily prohibiting *any* discussion of the subject of slavery, that it was reasonable to hope that this wise and just policy would be perpetual.

We are neither afraid of free discussion on this subject, nor averse to it, at proper times and places—but we contend that there are already a plenty of arenas for this purpose, without compelling the American Tract Society to become another. The agitation of the slavery question will as inevitably result in the division of the Society, as it has already resulted in the separation of churches and organizations, once happily and harmoniously united. The oftener we read, and the longer we reflect on the resolutions adopted at the recent meeting, the more firm does our conviction become, that the first blow has been struck upon the entering wedge which is destined to split the American Tract Society.

It need not be urged that the resolutions adopted, carefully discriminate between what they call the *political* and *moral* evils of slavery, avowing the intention to confine all discussion to the latter. Admitting that such a distinction was honestly made, with the actual intention of regarding it, what will be the practical value of such a shadowy and shifting line? Who does not know that if there be moral evils inseparable from a system affecting the half of the republic they must involve and comprehend the political interests of the republic? Who does not know that the most rampant anti-slavery preachers at the North, who every Sabbath convert the pulpits into rostrums for the denunciation of Southern statesmen, literature, and social life, assert that it is only against what they call the *moral* evils of slavery that they inveigh?

Even Dr. Cheever, who vomits his hebdomadal bile upon the Supreme Court of the United States, declares that his *mal de cœur* is excited by the odor of trampled Africans, offensive only to his *moral* sensibilities, and that he is no political preacher!

But when we come to analyze the language of the most objectionable resolution, we shall find that it opens as wide a door as the most fanatical abolitionist could desire for the discussion of every thing that could misrepresent and insult the South. Indeed the resolution itself is insulting, when it asserts that the object of the Tract Society is to discuss 'those *evils and vices which it* (slavery) IS KNOWN TO PROMOTE, and which are condemned in Scripture;' inasmuch as Southern Christians contend that slavery as it exists among us is an institution recognized and justified by Scripture, and that the evils incident to it are not evils which flow from the system, but from the depravity of human nature, which entails abuses on the marital, parental, and every other relation which exists in society.

The very resolution then which opens the door for as wide a discussion of the subject as even Dr. Cheever could desire, is itself a protest against slavery; and with such an introduction, it is easy, though saddening, to anticipate the consequences.

It is not worth while to argue that the character of the Executive Committee furnishes a guarantee that no publications of an offensive nature will be permitted. No committee can withstand the outside pressure which will now be brought to bear upon the Society; and what pledge have we that any conservative men will be permanently retained in that Committee, now that a new and hitherto interdicted policy has been inaugurated?

The fact is, Northern men cannot write anything on the subject of slavery calculated to instruct or edify Southern masters. Even when the intentions of these writers are most pure, such is their ignorance of the real character of the institution, that they fall into so many unconscious mistakes and misrepresentations as utterly to vitiate their productions, and render them wholly inefficacious for good. The only men who are competent to discuss even the reciprocal obligations of masters and slaves are not going to make the American Tract Society the vehicle of their communications; and the great proportion of all that is written will be written by men who are not only utterly incompetent to instruct the South in relation to its peculiar duties, but by men who, under the invitation of the resolution, will undertake to rebuke the '*moral evils and vices which slavery* IS KNOWN TO PROMOTE,' in a way which will do nothing but mischief.

It is a significant fact that the abolition press at the North already exults in anticipation of the results of 'carrying out the principles contained in the resolutions' recently adopted. It will not be long before some of the best men at the North, who have been among the warmest friends of the Society, will find themselves compelled to withdraw from it their countenance and support. A few days since, we heard a very distinguished clergyman of one of the Northern cities express his mortification and grief at what he called the folly of the Society in forsaking the only basis upon which it could command the confidence of the whole country. Thousands in the South, who have been the fast friends of the American Tract Society, will share in this mortification and grief, not only because of the fresh illustration it presents of the insatiable greed of abolition, which seeks to absorb and convert to its own purposes every institution of philanthropy and piety, but because if these recently adopted resolutions are followed by corresponding action, the American Tract Society will hereafter be known as the Northern Tract Society, and its operations arrested throughout one half of this confederacy.

### MORAL INSANITY.

No discreet and Christian man can read the uncharitable epithets and incoherent ravings of Dr. Cheever, in the *Independent*, as applied to the Supreme Court of the United States, without feeling an irresistible conviction that a good cause suffers exceedingly in the hands of such advocates. He charges the Chief Justice with moral insanity, and declares the late decision 'as utterly null and void,' as if the Judge who uttered it had been a maniac.

The decision of the Supreme Court may be invalid—indeed, we believe it to be erroneous and unjust in its application—but if it is ever to be made to appear so, and its practical force destroyed in the popular mind, it must be done by argument and reasonable and truthful showings, and not by vituperation and abuse, and a frenzied appeal to partizan and sectional prejudices. Conscious weakness or inherent folly, alone, will resort to such allies or apply such instrumentalities; and a good cause needs them not, and a bad cause is made none the better by them.

The *Observer* intimates that it is whispered in private circles that Dr. Cheever has the fearful malady he charges upon the Chief Justice, and one who has had patience to read his raving, in the last *Independent*, would be inclined to this charitable construction of the case.

We are not willing, however, to allow the force of this modern and fashionable plea, which has been attempted of late to be made to *cover a multitude of sins.* We believe there is real moral turpitude in such gross violations of Christian charity and ministerial propriety. The mind may have become warped by its prejudices and unbalanced by the undue preponderance of a single idea, still such a condition of mind is not beyond the voluntary and responsible control of the individual.

Paul rebuked the judge for commanding him to be smitten contrary to law, but as soon as he was reminded of the contumacy, he retracted, and plead ignorance as his apology, and fell back upon the Scripture as a safe warrant to submit to legal authority, though it be unjust: 'For it was written, *Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.*' We commend this practical exemplification of this subject to the careful consideration of Dr. C. as worthy of imitation.

Gerrit Smith proclaims that the judges ought to be *hung*, while Dr. Cheever affirms that they are insane. Now, these moral doctors, judging from the diversity of their prescriptions, agreeing only in their extravagance, must, at least one of them, be mistaken in the true nature of the case. For an irresponsible madman ought not to be hung, and if the judge's decision entitles him to be hung for treason, it is not to be set aside as null and void on account of his mental incompetence. Such is the anarchy of extravagance, the legitimate fruits of such unrestrained license. Such teachers inevitably bring odium upon a good cause, neutralize and destroy the influence of good and prudent men, and hinder and pervert the progress of true reform.

We opine that no healthy Christian mind can read those constant tirades in the *Independent* without experiencing a painful disgust. Indeed, the tendency of such appeals to the baser passions and prejudices of the soul, even when they are not positively repulsive, are by no means conducive to an elevated tone of spirituality. We exceedingly pity the moral taste of those minds that relish such food, and deprecate the influence of such teachings, falsely called religious, which are calculated to engender bitterness, and bring forth nothing but uncharitableness.—*Genesee Evangelist.*

## SELECTIONS.

From the Anti-Slavery Bugle.

### A THOUGHT FOR CONSIDERATION.

There are two periods in the existence of reform papers when they need the special support of the friends of the cause they advocate. The *first* is at their inauguration. Then, when they take their stand against wrong, when they lend their aid to draw the lines deeply which divide Truth from Error, they must receive from their friends the encouragement of their sympathy and co-operation, including, of course, that material aid so necessary to establish a good understanding and maintain pleasant relations with the printers and paper-makers. And this is the time they generally receive the support they require.

But, by and by, community becomes partially converted, the growlings of the opposition measurably die away, here and there is seen a patch of blue sky through the rifted clouds, and reformers begin to congratulate themselves upon having done a good work. And now has arrived the *second* period when they need the general and especial support of their friends, which they too often fail to receive. Very many think they did in the start all that can reasonably be required of them, and now if the paper is sustained, it must be either by the heavy sacrifices of a few individuals, or by the charity-like support of the half converts it has begun to harden into proper form.

Anti-slavery papers of the Disunion type have always had a hard struggle for existence. Being more intimately acquainted with the history of the *Bugle* than of any other paper advocating the same principles, we refer to it for illustration; premising, however, that the history and experience of its struggles for support are, in the main, the experience of them all. The *Bugle* never boasted of a very extensive subscription list, and its publishers never anticipated a 'good time coming' when they could talk with complacency of 'our hundred thousand subscribers.' Such an expectation would be proof positive of insanity on the part of the entire Executive Committee, if not of the whole Society. But the time *has* been when the list was much larger than at present, and that, too, at a time when opposition to its principles was far more rampant than now. But, as active opposition died away, active support also decreased, until the question is now mooted whether it would be better for its publishers to compel a few friends to volunteer large contributions for its support, or to beg of the half-converted a charitable donation to supply the deficiency occasioned by the neglect of those who fully adopt its principles, but not to the amount of any active co-operation.

Ten years since, the choice in papers was between anti-slavery and pro-slavery journals, and many whose interest in the great question of the day was but just awakened, preferred, of course, the former. But since then, anti-slavery—except of the most ultra kind—has become more popular, and he who is in a transition state can be measured and filled with a paper that will suit him as nicely as the coat he orders from his tailor. For the Methodist, whose eye is directed anti-slavery-wise, there is the *Northern Independent;* for the Baptist, the *American Missionary;* for the Presbyterian, the *Independent;* and for politicians, the *Tribune, Times* and *Era,* with others like unto them. These papers supply the wants of all who are not Disunionists, and have consequently caused some diminution in the subscription lists of THE LIBERATOR, *Standard* and *Bugle.* We are not sorry that these papers are influenced by the leaven of abolitionism; on the contrary, we rejoice that such is the fact, and our joy would be exceeding great had the whole lump become leavened. But we refer to this fact, which in itself is hopeful, and indicative of great progress, as one which shows the necessity of Disunionists doing more for Disunion papers.

We think the supporters of the American Anti-Slavery Society may, in all modesty, assume that it is owing mainly, if not directly, then indirectly, to the labors of that Society and its auxiliaries, that the public sentiment of the country in relation to slavery has been awakened, that so many are beginning to be prepared for the approaching contest, and that the papers referred to above have been enabled to take position in advance of that they occupied years ago. To enable them to now stand where they are, and in the future to advance yet farther, it is necessary to give a generous support to THE LIBERATOR, *Standard* and *Bugle.*

We trust our readers are prepared to make some practical comments upon what we have said, and rather than have them at any loss what to do, cheerfully furnish them the following memorandum:

*Item.*—If any subscriber is in arrears, I will at once remit the amount to the publisher, and pay for at least one year in advance.

*Item.*—If I can possibly subscribe to all the Disunion papers, I will do so, and will exert my influence to have others go and do likewise, in whole, or in part. B.

### N. H. METHODIST CONFERENCE.

The following Report on Slavery was adopted by the New Hampshire Methodist Conference, at its late session, and is published at its request in *Zion's Herald*:—

The committee on Slavery present the following Report:—

We think it unnecessary to say more upon the subject of slavery than to reaffirm our former position. We are only changed in the strength of our purpose and the intensity of our feelings against this great evil. We are more than ever opposed to slavery as we see more of its fruits. Its peculiar efforts for expansion and national recognition unfold its true character. The wrong and violence—injustice—robberies—rapes—murders—which have made the Territory of Kansas 'the dark and bloody ground,' grow out of this institution, and give to it a ghastly and savage peculiarity.

The doctrine set forth in the late reported decision of the Supreme Court of the United States is, to say the least, hard to be received. All men cannot receive it. We cannot receive it, because we cannot reconcile it with the constitution of our beloved country, the laws of humanity, and the doctrines of our holy religion.

We see in the spread of this evil, its extension into territory consecrated to freedom; its permission to go into every free State in the Union, to exhale its pestilent odors, tainting the moral air—the pouring out of a vial of wrath of God upon the nation; the curse which good and wise men have feared, because we have not repented of this great evil.

Your Committee conclude with the following resolutions:—

1. That we re-affirm, with increased emphasis, the sentiments expressed by us at the last annual session.

2. That we joyfully anticipate the time when the M. E. Church, in her official councils, shall give that construction to all her 'Rules' which shall require her communicants to let the oppressed go free.

3. That we heartily approve the position taken by the editor of *Zion's Herald* upon the subject; and cordially welcome him to his present post of labor, as an able and fearless co-worker in the cause of humanity and religion.

4. That this is no time to abate our zeal or cease our efforts for the overthrow of slavery; and, as Christian ministers, we pledge ourselves to renewed and unending warfare against it, by all Christian means, till it be extirpated from the church and the nation.

Respectfully submitted,

O. H. JASPER,
G. S. DEARBORN,
E. R. WILKINS,
SILAS GREEN,
} Committee.

### JUDGE LEAVITT.

This notorious legal kidnapper, who, as Judge of the Federal District Court, bore so distinguished a part in restoring Margaret Garner and her family to slavery, was a member of the Old School General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, lately in session, in Lexington, (Ky.) We observe that he figures in that body as chairman of a committee for the relief of the destitute widows and children of deceased ministers! One would suppose that, in such employment, he would not fail to remember how he had made Margaret Garner and her old mother more than widows, and her infants more than orphans. And yet if he did, not unlikely the recollection was accompanied with pious self-complacency, while greeted with the approval of Kentucky Presbyterians to whom he had returned their escaped human chattels. Such is the influence of successful iniquity, no matter how gross its character, when it is rewarded with popular applause.—But the church that welcomes, honors, and follows such criminals as spiritual guides and civil rulers, what shall, what can be said of it? And the people who support and honor such a church as the embodiment of Divinity, theoretically and practically, how blind, how morally besotted! Till they have a clearer spiritual vision, and a purer and higher standard of Christianity, how can we expect them to be other than willing partners with kidnappers and pirates? It will not yet do for moral suasion abolitionists to abandon their work for political partisanship. They have need to expend all, and a thousand-fold more than all, of their vigor and labor in morally educating the nation, and bringing it to the practical recognition of the simplest principles of justice. The blind guides of the church have led the besotted people of the nation into the slough of slavery, and there they are content to wallow, and will be content till something of a moral renovation is effected.—*Anti-Slavery Bugle.*

MORAL COWARDICE.—The Old School Presbyterian Assembly had not even the moral courage to assail Mormonism by a condemnatory resolution even in the present state of public sentiment against that sect. The supporters of concubinage in the South are remarkably tender of the feelings of the Salt Lake polygamists.

In the course of the proceedings of the Assembly at Lexington, last week, Rev. J. E. Bright, of Tennessee, offered a resolution, denouncing the iniquities of Mormonism, and expressing the desire of the Assembly to see those iniquities wiped from the escutcheon of the nation.

Judge Fine expressed his abhorrence, and that of the whole country, of those iniquities, but doubted the propriety of introducing such subjects into the Assembly. He moved it be laid on the table!

The mover asked leave to withdraw it, which was granted, and it was withdrawn.

THE WEST DID THE WORK.—It is not the least gratifying circumstance connected with the late discomfiture of the clerical friends of slavery, at the New School Presbyterian General Assembly in Cleveland, that the movement by which they were forced to re-affirm the old doctrines of the Church on this matter of human chattelism, or boldly declare their belief in the insane absurdities of Calhoun, and withdraw from all fellowship with the congregations of the North, came from the West. It was the constant complaint of the apologists for the women-whippers and man-stealers, that the West had pressed this matter upon them—that the West only stood in the way of some compromise—that the West was intractable. Thank God for the complaint, and the reality of the causes that produced it! The West could not have been more loudly praised. Be hers the honor of standing in the first rank of those who are resisting the inhuman heresies and anti-Christian aggressions of the madmen who have prostituted our Government to the uses of bondage, and now wish to debase Religion to the same unholy purpose.—*Chicago Tribune.*

THE DISCUSSION. The utter uselessness of trying to silence the discussion of slavery is shown by the religious anniversaries. It comes up in the Home Missionary Society, on a question of garbling tracts. It comes up in the Presbyterian General Assembly on a question of church membership. It comes up in the Methodist book concern, on a question of church funds. It comes up in the shape of two Anti-Slavery societies, organized for the sole purpose of discussing it once a year. It is like Banquo's ghost that would not 'down.' It is like the giant Antæus, who, the oftener he was crushed to earth, the stronger he arose to his feet. Put it down on the stump, and it comes up in the pulpit; suppress it in the streets, and it comes up in the school-house and by the fireside. This business of debating the slavery question, disagreeable as it may be to some of us, cannot be avoided. It can neither be skipped over, nor crawled under, nor got round. It must be met, faced, stood up to, grappled with, like a relic of barbarism as it is, and disposed of according to the best lights of the science, philosophy and religion of this 19th century.—*Albany Evening Journal.*

☞ The South is overhauling Mr. Buchanan's organ, the *Union*, on the subject of Squatter Sovereignty.

# The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, JULY 10, 1857.


## ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION OF INDEPENDENCE DAY.

The wet and chilly weather of the first three days of July, and the rain which fell through much of the day and night of the 3d, left little reason to expect that the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause would be able to assemble at Framingham on the 4th, in their usual numbers. Contrary to such expectation, however, and notwithstanding the forbidding aspect of the skies during the earlier part of the day, a very large concourse of friends of the cause, and of earnest and interested inquirers, came together from all parts of the State, to renew their vows and purposes of devotion to the sacred cause of freedom, and to do what they might to redeem the hours of the Nation's birthday from the utter perversion and desecration which it everywhere suffers at the hands of this degenerate nation. The beautiful and convenient grove, too, in which the meeting was appointed to be held, was found to be at eleven o'clock sufficiently dry to be occupied; and at that hour the meeting was called to order by FRANCIS JACKSON, of Boston, the chairman of the Committee of Arrangements.

Mr. JACKSON said that, before proceeding to the organization of the meeting, he would like to submit a few remarks to the audience, and spoke as follows:—

FRIENDS—Eighty-one years ago, the self-evident truth was proclaimed in this country, that 'all men are created equal,' and with 'an inalienable right to liberty.'

Those who made that declaration were in earnest; they backed it up with ball and cartridges, and dissolved their union with the mother country. A few years after, they came down to blank cartridges, rockets, and windy professions, and by their acts endorsed that self-evident lie, chattel slavery.

Boston, that money-cursed city, will doubtless burn more gunpowder, and waste more rum to-day, than all the rest of Massachusetts. After repeating and puffing that self-evident declaration seventy-five years, Boston, at the bidding of the Slave Power, seized Thomas Sims, a very handsome young man, twenty-two years old, and sent him to life-long slavery. Her Mayor Bigelow, Marshal Tukey, with all the police of the city, including Asa O. Butman, who arrested Sims, and for that act was rewarded with an office, not at Worcester, but in the Boston Custom-House—the militia of Boston, now known as the 'Sims Brigade,' volunteered their services, and were under arms on that occasion. They marched down State street and Long wharf, and thrust him on board John H. Pearson's brig Acorn, beside which there was a reserve guard of 1500 of the first merchants of Boston, (so said the City Marshal,) who volunteered their assistance, in case of need, to help enslave Sims.

A few days afterwards, the Fourth of July came round again, and was ushered in with gunpowder explosions. Boston honored the day, (in its way,) and forgot that poor Sims, (who had been whipped with the paddle,) was then lying in Savannah jail:—over again, Boston declared that all men were born free. Friends, let us no longer be deceived by professions, when barefaced acts are so outrageously glaring.

Who now, in this eighty-first year, accepts the declaration of '76? The Southern States all scout it, and the other States are in union with them.

The Democratic party have repudiated Democracy, and are openly allied to the Slave Power for the sake of the offices.

The remnants of the Whig party, mainly merchants and capitalists, adhere to the Slave Power from choice, without even the hope of office.

The Republican party are in a transition state; they have some good Anti-Slavery men in their ranks—Free-Soilers, those who have left the Whig party, and those who have run away from the Democratic party—Know Nothings and Know Somethings, all in one omnibus together. They have agreed upon their driver, who is running for luck upon a sliding scale. A striped party, surely; but all agreed upon supporting slavery in the States, and saving the Union!

Verily, there appears to be nobody left to-day but come-outers to stand up in good faith to support the self-evident truths of '76.

Not a State, nor a political party, nor a religious sect in the Union, that accepts that declaration; and yet nearly all of them are celebrating its anniversary, or pretending to support it. Truly, we are a nation of hypocrites.

Friends, remember that the Declaration of '76 went for disunion as a remedy for oppression; it drew the line for sundering the Union of that day, and maintained it.

Let us go for disunion, notwithstanding Senator Wilson's threat that we shall die traitors' deaths. Let us do what we can to dissolve a Union that holds nearly four millions of chattel slaves, and help organize a free government on the only true basis of *equal rights*, without regard to sex or color.

There was a general and animated response from the audience to the sentiments which Mr. Jackson had so well expressed.

Mr. Jackson then, in behalf of the Committee, reported the following organization of the meeting:—

*For President*—WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

*For Vice-Presidents* Francis Jackson, Boston; Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Adin Ballou, Milford; Chas. L. Remond, Salem; W. G. Babcock, South Natick; Rodney Moore, Slatersville, R. I.; Charles F. Hovey, Framingham.

*For Secretaries*—Dr. Henry O. Stone, Framingham; Joseph A. Howland, Worcester.

*For Finance Committee*—Ebenezer D. Draper, Milford; Daniel S. Whitney, Southboro'; Charles Brigham, Feltonville; Sylvester C. Fay, Southboro'; John H. Crane, Worcester.

The nomination of officers was adopted.

Mr. GARRISON then took the chair, and thus briefly addressed the meeting:—

FRIENDS OF THE ENSLAVED:

I should not be willing to stand on any other platform than the one indicated by my friend FRANCIS JACKSON, to wit, the platform of 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!' and, therefore, of the Dissolution of this existing American Union. While the great mass of our unreflecting and misguided fellow-countrymen are to-day engaged in offering a hollow and spurious homage to the memory of our dead ancestors, who suffered and bled in the cause of American Independence, we have convened together,—not unmindful of the toils and sacrifices of those who have gone before us,—to make complete, as far as in us lies, what they left undone; not to talk about bonds and yokes of old that were broken, but about those which remain to be broken,—to bear our testimony against an oppression, 'one hour of which,' in the language of Thomas Jefferson, 'is fraught with more misery than ages of that which our fathers rose in rebellion to oppose.' We are not here in any spirit of exultation, but in the spirit of sadness and shame. Our country is recreant to the cause of human liberty. It is the great slave nation of the world, and its mission now seems to be to propagate and extend slavery throughout this continent, and, if possible, throughout the earth. We, therefore, are here, not in the spirit of boasting, but to mourn over the fallen condition of the land in which we live, and to which we are so tenderly attached. Before God, we feel that we can best honor those who, in olden times, dared to do something for liberty, by rebuking the men of the age in which we live, who are conspiring to perpetuate chattel slavery in our Republic.

One thing is very palpable—our likeness, as a people, to the Jews of old. It was said of them by the prophet, in regard to their wickedness, 'Were they ashamed when they had committed abomination? Nay, they were not at all ashamed; neither could they blush.' That seems to be the exact description of the American people. We are without shame, and we cannot blush, though our iniquity reach unto the heavens.

Again, our mission, as Abolitionists, is the same as was that of the prophet of old:—'Son of man, I send thee to the children of Israel, to a rebellious nation, that hath rebelled against me. They and their fathers have rebelled against me, even unto this very day; for they are impudent and stiff-hearted.' So it becomes our duty to call this nation to repentance, and to demand that she bring forth fruits meet for repentance, by the putting away of her great iniquity.

Like the Jewish nation, also, ours affects piety towards God, and justice towards man:—'Yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God. They ask of me the ordinances of justice; they take delight in approaching to God.' Such is the character, such the conduct of the American people, whose inconsistencies and hypocrisies cannot be matched even by the ancient Jews; and a day like this witnesses the consummation of their deceitfulness and criminality.

Our nation is rich, prosperous and strong, and imagines that therefore no harm can come to it, let it do what it may that is evil. Has it not an army, and a navy, and a multitudinous people, and 'a glorious Union'? How, then, is it possible that it can ever fall? The prophet described this infatuated state of mind when he said, in regard to Edom—'The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high; that saith in thy heart, Who shall bring me down to the ground? Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle, and though thou set thy nest among the stars, thence will I bring thee down, saith the Lord.' So we may talk of our power, and boast of our prowess, and declare ourselves to be impregnable; but there is One mightier than all, 'who taketh up the isles of the sea as a very little thing, and before whom the nations of the earth are as grasshoppers;' and he can utterly blot out this nation, as he has obliterated other nations for a similar crime,—the crime of oppression. America, the land of my birth! hear the word of the Lord, in thy fancied security, and tremble!

'Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea. Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; yet was she carried away, she went into captivity. Thou also shalt be drunken: all thy strong holds shall be like fig trees with the first ripe figs; if they be shaken, they shall even fall into the mouth of the eater. The gates of thy land shall be set wide open unto thine enemies: the fire shall devour thy bars. . . There is no healing of thy bruise; thy wound is grievous; all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?'

In order that our guilty land may be saved from a doom like this, let us consecrate our time, talents, means, all that we have and are, to the cause of the enslaved, and through their enfranchisement hope to obtain deliverance from the judgments now so fearfully impending over us. But I will not detain you any longer by further preliminary remarks.

The whole audience then joined in singing the first piece on the printed sheet, commencing

'From British yoke and galling chain,
Our fathers loosed the land;
But other yokes and bonds remain,
Their sons with shame to brand.'

After which, CHARLES LENOX REMOND addressed the meeting in his most eloquent and indignant vein, speaking somewhat as follows:—

### SPEECH OF CHARLES L. REMOND.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I hardly need inform those who are gathered together here to-day, that I take some satisfaction in responding to the kind invitation of the Committee of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, for more reasons, perhaps, than would at first appear to many who are present. We have been informed, by the gentleman who preceded our respected President, (Mr. JACKSON,) that this is a repetition, of eighty years' standing, of the demonstration of the American people on the side of liberty and independence. The reason why I, above all others, take pleasure in coming to this platform, is not to exhibit, if I may so express myself, the common-place idea of a colored man's speaking in public, nor is it the grateful associations that may appear to other minds, on another account, or for other reasons, but it is that I may have the satisfaction of saying, in a word, that I hold all demonstrations on this day, outside of the gatherings similar to the one of which we form a part, as so many mockeries and insults to a large number of our fellow-countrymen. To-day, there are, on the Southern plantations, between three and four millions, to whom the popular Fourth of July in the United States of America is a most palpable insult; and to every white American who has any sympathy whatever with the oppressed, the day is also a mockery. Why, sir, I have been informed, since I came into this grove, that on this platform sit one or two men recently from Virginia, known and owned there as slaves. I ask you, Mr. Chairman, and I ask this audience, what must be the emotions of these men, who are now on their way from Virginia, through the free State of Massachusetts, to Canada, where alone they can be free, happy, or out of danger? I ask you if I say too much when I say, that to the slave, the popular Fourth of July in the United States is an insult? And hence I was glad to hear our esteemed friend, FRANCIS JACKSON, inquire if we are willing to take our places here to-day upon the glorious motto of 'No Union with Slaveholders'; if we are willing to subscribe to the declaration that shall affirm our purpose to be to dissolve this slaveholding Union. (Applause.) I do not know how others may feel; I do not expect to get a hearty response to that expression; but the time is coming when a larger number than is gathered here to-day will subscribe to the idea of a dissolution of the Union as the only means of their own safety, as well as of the emancipation of the slave.

Sir, I do not care, so far as I am concerned, to view even the deeds committed by the greatest men of the Revolution, nor the purposes which they achieved. I do not care whether the statue recently erected to commemorate the deeds of Joseph Warren be deserved or not; I do not care whether the great majority of the reminiscences that cluster around the history of this day be veritable or not; I do know, in my heart, that every slave, on every plantation, has the right from his God and Creator to be free, and that is enough to warrant me in saying, that we cannot come here for a better or a nobler purpose than to help forward the effort to dissolve the American Union, because, if the Union shall be dissolved, if for no other purpose than for the emancipation of the slave, it will be glory enough for me to engage in it. (Applause.) Hence, sir, I do not feel, as many may feel to-day, to make an appeal over the prostrate form of some slave mother; nor do I care to repeat the sayings of some noble slave father; nor do I ask the men on my right what they have to say. I have only to speak for myself; to speak for freedom for myself; to determine for freedom for myself; and in doing so, I speak and determine for the freedom of every slave on every plantation, and for the fugitives on my right hand; and in so speaking, I speak for those before me as emphatically as I can for the blackest man that lives or suffers in our country. I subscribe, Mr. Chairman, to the remark made by our esteemed friend, Mr. Foss, in the cars, while coming here to-day; that I have not a word to say about the evils of American slavery, as they are detailed on the one hand, and retailed on the other. The time has come for us to make the ground upon which we stand to-day sacred to the cause of liberty; and when we make the ground of Framingham thus sacred, we do away with the necessity for the disgraceful underground railroad of our country, that transports such men as these fugitives to the dominions of the British Queen, in order that they may secure their inalienable rights; we do away with the dishonor that now gathers around and over the State of Massachusetts, which makes it necessary for any man or any woman to pass beyond our border before he or she can be free. Talk to me of Bunker Hill, and tell me that a fugitive passed through Boston to-day! Talk about Lexington, and tell me a slave mother must be kept secreted in Boston! Talk to me of commemorating the memory of Joseph Warren, while thirty thousand fugitive slaves are in Canada! I will scout the memory of the Revolution, the memory of Washington, and Adams, and Hancock, until the soil of Massachusetts shall be as free to every fugitive, and as free to me, as it is to the descendants of any of them. (Loud applause.) And until we shall do this, we talk in vain, and celebrate in vain.

O, sir, I long to see the day when Massachusetts, and every New England State, shall be the only Canada needful to the American slave. I see CHARLES SUMNER, on the one hand, in Europe, trying to recover from illness and physical prostration, the result of American slavery; on the other hand, I see Kansas prostrate and bleeding, the result of American slavery. Before me, I see HORACE GREELEY, kicked and cuffed in the city of Washington, as the result of slavery. I look at Massachusetts, and I see our State, as an entire State, silently acquiescing in the recent disgraceful decision given by Judge Taney in the United States Supreme Court, whereby it is declared that the black man in the United States has no rights which the white man is bound to respect! Shame on Judge Taney! Shame on the United States Supreme Court! Shame on Massachusetts, that she does not vindicate herself from the insult cast upon her through my own body, and through the body of every colored man in the State! (Loud cheers.) My God and Creator has given me rights which you are as much bound to respect as those of the whitest man among you, if I make the exhibitions of a man. And black men *did* make the exhibition of manhood at Bunker Hill, and Lexington, and Concord, as I can well testify. But in view of the ingratitude of the American people, in view of the baseness of such men as Judge Taney, in view of the dough-face character that degrades our State, I regret exceedingly that there is one single drop of blood in my own veins that mingled with the blood of the men who engaged in the strife on Bunker Hill and at Lexington. Better that any such man had folded his hands and crossed his knees, during the American Revolution, if this is the reward we are to derive from such hypocrites, such cowards, such panders to American slavery, as Judge Taney and his co-operators.

Mr. Chairman, I will not dwell upon this theme. I am not the man to speak to a white audience on the Fourth of July. I am reminded by every thing over me, beneath me, and all around me, of my shame and degradation; and I shall take my seat on this occasion by stating to every white man present, who does not feel that the time has come when the rights of the colored man should be restored to him, that I am among the number who would embrace this day, this moment, to strike the last fetter from the limbs of the last slave, if it were in my power to do so, and leave the consequences to those at whose instigation it has been fastened upon them.

I look around the country, and behold one other demonstration, and with the mention of that, I shall take my seat. During the last year, not a few exhibitions have been made, in various parts of our country, of the purposes of American slavery the year to come; but there was no stronger demonstration than that made during the late Presidential canvass by the American people; and whatever may have been said prior to that time of the general sentiment of our country, the election of James Buchanan to the Presidency has placed that question beyond doubt and cavil, and has determined that the American people, by an overwhelming majority, are on the side of slavery, with all its infernalism. Now, sir, it belongs to the true friends who are present to go forward, determined that this state of things shall be altered, and it can only be altered by the largest application and the freest promulgation of the doctrine set forth by the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies. I am glad, therefore, to utter my testimony from a platform where they are represented; and let me say, friends, whether you believe it or not, that if the cause of universal liberty shall ever be established in our country, within our day and generation, it can only be by the promulgation of the most radical type of Anti-Slavery, known as the 'Garrison doctrine,' to the country. (Applause.)

At the close of Mr. Remond's speech, the President said, 'All who mean to trample Judge Taney's decision in the dust will say Aye;' when all of that great audience, apparently without an exception, with united shout responded AYE. A voice added—'And on the Judge too!'

On motion of S. S. Foster,

Voted, That all persons present, competent to address a public meeting, be invited to address this meeting upon either side of the questions before it.

Rev. W. G. BABCOCK, of South Natick, was then introduced to the meeting as one who had, by his fidelity to the Anti-Slavery cause, preached himself out of two or three pulpits, and whose presence with us was proof that he had not been subdued by the pro-slavery influences which mould and enfeeble the Northern pulpit.

Mr. BABCOCK was received with friendly demonstrations, and made a brief and good address. He spoke of his present residence on the spot where the 'Apostle' Eliot first preached to the 'praying Indians' of the Massachusetts Bay colony. He referred to some analogies and to some contrasts between that and the Anti-Slavery movement of the present day. He declared his deep interest in this movement, his confidence in the principles upon which it is conducted, and his respect for those who have devoted themselves to it.

Miss FRANCES ELLEN WATKINS, of Baltimore, being called on by the President, then addressed the meeting. She contrasted, with touching power, the triumphant shouts and jubilee songs, which we see and hear about us this day, on every side, with the unpitied woes and unheeded cries of the four millions of slaves, whose united voices now go up into the ear of God to convict this nation of its apostacy and hypocrisy. She demanded, in behalf of her and our enslaved brethren and sisters, that we should forever abjure the motto—'Freedom National, and Slavery Sectional,' and take that better one—Freedom everywhere, and Slavery nowhere. (Great applause.)

STEPHEN S. FOSTER was then called to the stand, and proceeded to give a sharp and searching criticism upon the position of the Republican party in reference to slavery. His words were not received with universal favor, but no one, at that time, attempted to question the essential correctness of the criticism.

Mr. GARRISON added a few remarks, showing that while the Abolitionists did not seek to be, and could not be generally regarded as being personal in an unwarrantable sense—yet the cause was such, and the guilt of the nation such, that we could not possibly avoid a certain kind and degree of personality, while holding every professed Republican and Christian to his own avowed principles.

The meeting then joined in singing, to the tune of *Auld Lang Syne*, the piece beginning

'Fling out the Anti-Slavery flag'—

and at a quarter to one, an adjournment was had to two o'clock.

### AFTERNOON SESSION.

The intermission having been most agreeably spent in social intercourse, in partaking of refreshments, in walks, in sailing upon the adjoining beautiful lake—to all which the music of a band, furnished for the occasion by a liberal friend residing in the neighborhood, gave an additional pleasure. The company reassembled at 2 o'clock, and more numerously than in the morning; not only every seat being occupied, but large numbers standing throughout.

The meeting joined in singing the piece entitled 'Protection to the Fugitive.'

Mr. MAY having made an appeal to the audience for a contribution in aid of the cause, and his appeal having been warmly and eloquently seconded by Mr. Remond and Mrs. Abby Kelley Foster, the Finance Committee proceeded to the discharge of their office. It was subsequently found that the sum of $117.33 was contributed in cash and pledges.

ADIN BALLOU, of Hopedale, was next introduced, and spoke in substance as follows:—

### SPEECH OF REV. ADIN BALLOU.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FRIENDS:

We have great professions of anti-slavery from all quarters in the Northern section of our country, and I presume many look with a degree of resentment upon those who claim to be exclusively anti-slavery, alleging that they themselves, in their way, and in their judgment, are as anti-slavery as any body. It will be worth while, then, perhaps, to inquire what anti-slavery is. To be just and charitable to all parties, I am constrained to say that there are two kinds of anti-slavery. I will distinguish the one kind as uncompromising, moral-principle anti-slavery. I will define the other to be compromising, expediency anti-slavery. I will not raise the question of personal honesty and good intention, in regard to the advocates and adherents of either of these two kinds; but that they differ from each other very essentially, in some respects, there can be no doubt.

I understand that uncompromising moral-principle anti-slavery looks at the simple right and wrong of the thing. It looks upon the enslavement of a human being by another human being as the greatest wrong which can be perpetrated by man upon man. You will ask—'Greater than murder?' Yes; it must be greater than murder, inasmuch as, if we try it by the Golden Rule, and ask ourselves whether we would not rather prefer to be stricken down by a deadly weapon than be subjected, as a piece of property, to hopeless bondage, we shall undoubtedly choose the former. Or if it were the case of our wife, or of our husband, or of our darling son or daughter, or of any dear friend, we should not be long in deciding, if there were no hope of escape otherwise, that death should be preferred to bondage. Taking it in this point of view, and not to dwell upon the evils that grow out of slavery in all directions, moral-principle, uncompromising Abolitionists look upon slavery as a sin *per se*, and not as an ordinary sin—not as a fault—not as a light and trivial offence—but as a capital crime; consequently, they cannot tolerate it. They go for exterminating it; and they cannot be consistent to go for anything less. We tolerate a little drinking, a little petty larceny; we tolerate a great many little vices in the community and in government; we tolerate a little error in the bosom of the church, because, we say, human nature is imperfect, at the best. But we do not tolerate murder; we do not tolerate the laying of the hand upon man by another man, and robbing him of all that is dear to him—never for ourselves—never for those who are dear to us—never for those we love as we love ourselves. It cannot be.

Now, I understand that compromising anti-slavery takes a lower view. It professes to be opposed to slavery, but it is opposed to slavery as a crime, or a sin, or a defect in society, or a wrong, which may be tolerated to a certain extent, which may be compromised to a certain extent;—it does not treat it as a capital felony. It looks upon it as something with which we may be united, which we may act in harmony with, to a certain extent. It is only opposed to its going beyond a certain limit; it opposes its extension; it insists upon its being resisted, to some extent, to the greatest possible extent, perhaps; but yet, at the same time, it looks upon it as a thing to be tolerated where it has obtained a foothold. Consequently, with compromising Abolitionists, constitutions, compacts, laws, decisions of Courts, majorities, public opinion, however expressed, weigh a great deal. They determine how far they may feel called upon to go in their anti-slavery, and where they must stop they define. Uncompromising anti-slavery, on the other hand, is superior at once to all constitutions made by man—to all laws made by man—to all decrees and decisions of Courts made by man—to all majority decisions of men. It does not ask what public opinion is, what the majority will sanction, nor what the law is; but it asks, Does this wrong exist? Is one human being, who has as good a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as any other, deprived of them all? The answer is, Yes. Are a hundred? Yes. Are a thousand? Yes. Are a million? Yes. Are two, three, four millions, peradventure, men, women and children? Yes. In what part of the world? The United States of America—a land professing to be a Republican land—a land professing to bask in the light of the nineteenth century. It is here, in this country, in this land, that this great abomination—this four-million-fold abomination—is perpetrated.—What is to be said and done about it? Is anything? Those who take the ground of uncompromising, moral-principle abolition have no other position to take than that of deadly hostility to slavery as existing in this country, and under these circumstances, or wherever it may exist. They cannot be influenced to take any other ground. They cannot treat slaveholding or man-holding as a small crime; they must treat it as a gross, capital crime, committed against great light, in the midst of a nation professing to be the most devoted to the rights of man. We have assembled to do honor to those professions, made more than eighty years ago—to the great self-evident truth, that the Creator of all has created all with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We step forward and stand upon this platform. When we talk earnestly, when we raise our voices against Church and State, or against any party,—and raise it, perhaps, with our own roughness, in our own manner, there is felt to be a wrong done, an injustice done; and especially is there felt to be injustice done, when men say to themselves—'I, too, am anti-slavery; I am as much engaged in this work as you are; and yet you stand there in your self-righteousness to condemn me.'—Now, let us examine this subject for a moment calmly.

What do we ask that ought not to be done? If we look up to the United States Government, or to the nation, and ask the nation at once to break every yoke, and let these four millions of oppressed go free, do we ask any thing more than ought to be granted? Do we ask any thing that is not right? Do we ask any thing but what it would be an everlasting honor to this nation to grant? Do we ask any thing but what would be the noblest action that could be recorded of this Government upon the pages of history? No; every man, woman and child knows we do not. In what we ask of the people of this country, we ask them to do the greatest work possible—to do the greatest act of justice, and yet but a simple act of justice, to more people in their own country, than existed here when they made that solemn Declaration of Independence. Why, then, are we such enormous traitors—such flagitious characters—such 'turners of the world upside down'? Why is it, since the thing is clearly right, and since, if it were done, it would reflect the greatest possible honor upon the Government of this nation?

We will proceed. Suppose we should turn our attention to the Democratic party. Now, I will ask, what if the Democratic party should be persuaded, to-morrow, to emblazon it upon their banner, that they would never cease their efforts until they had put a total end to the evil of slavery—that they would use all their energies to blot out this evil from their country—would it be any thing more than right—any thing ignoble—any thing to shame and disgrace that party to everlasting infamy? No; it would retrieve its character with mankind. It would place it heaven-high in the estimation of all who look up to any party with love at all. It would be a simple act of justice, yet a great and glorious act of justice; it would be doing right for righteousness' sake, and in that would be involved the good of all parties—the bound made free, and the free made more free.

If we should turn to the Republican party, which undoubtedly feels aggrieved many times by the reproaches that are cast upon it, and should at once call upon that party to toe the line, and say all as one,—'Our object is to abolish that abomination wherever it exists, for it is the greatest crime that man can commit upon man—the greatest, most infamous one that any government can tolerate, and we will never rest, by night or day, until we abolish it, if it be in our power,'—would we ask the Republican party to do a mean or dishonorable thing—any thing which could reflect disgrace upon them in the pages of history—any thing that would not make their bosoms swell, if they are actuated by any thing like a noble principle, or have a free thought? We all say, No. We all desire that they may get rapidly to that ground, and would not hold them back from it.

Suppose we direct our eyes to the Church—the Church, which has received so many thumps, as it is said, from this platform. Suppose we should call upon every minister of the gospel in the United States to step forward, and say, 'By my reverence for the Sermon on the Mount—for the second great commandment—for the Golden Rule—for Jesus Christ—I am compelled to say that there is no greater sin in this land than the enslavement of four millions of human beings, and I must speak of it and regard it as the greatest crime.' Do we ask him to do any thing more than his duty—any thing more than would be to his everlasting honor, if not in the immediate opinion of his pews, yet in the regard of posterity, and in the decision of his own conscience? Would it be disgraceful in him—would it be wrong in him—would it be vile in him? Every one feels that it would be noble. Indeed, we ought to feel that any man, with that Golden Rule and second Commandment before him, should be ashamed to say less than this. To some this appeal has been made—not without its effect. I was once—for I claim not to be of the original apostles—I was once in the ranks of the ministry, and that appeal was made to me, and I felt that I should be false to all my professions, unless I took my position unequivocally on that ground.

Well, suppose we should say to every church in the land—'Slaveholding is the greatest and most heinous crime that man can commit against man. Speak of it as such. Discipline your members on this ground. Insist, in your pulpit ministrations, upon this idea.' Would it destroy the Church? Would it disgrace the Church? Would it be a wrong done to the Church? Would it disembowel it? Would it overthrow it? My friends, we have all to regret that every church in the land is not pure enough, at this moment, to take a stand so clearly and incontestably right as that. Indeed, no man ought to be so bad in the Church as not to be ready and willing to say that; an atheist ought not to be so bad as that; a Hottentot ought not to be so bad as that.

I appeal to your consciences, if we ask any thing that ought not to be done; and if it were done, no absolutely evil consequences would flow from it. Would your country be worse off in wealth or morals? We are deploring the degenerate state of morality in the land; we are deploring the fact, that all our large cities are the great common sewers of crime. But how can this great nation sanction the greatest of all crimes, and expect its inhabitants to be virtuous? How can the government of a great nation sanction that which every true soul feels to be the most enormous of all crimes, and expect that we shall have fewer gamblers, fewer pickpockets, fewer 'Plug Uglies,' fewer 'Short Boys,' fewer riots? I tell you, as surely as there is a God, unless those who are at the head of society set a better example, and reprove this enormous wickedness, they will not be able to govern the fag end. To uphold slavery and denounce lesser crimes, is to confound all moral distinctions, and our nation is rapidly reaching that position. Great wrong being sanctioned by the greatest names, petty deviltry and small knavery must flourish. It reduces itself to the case of the father who is himself living in the practice of the grossest crimes, who takes his child and flogs him for stealing an apple. If a man swears twenty times a day, will he whip his son for saying 'D—n it'? This is the state of things in this nation, at the present hour. I say, if this were done, as it must be done, we should all perceive in our country a very clear diminution of those many crimes that are now stalking abroad, and we should see every interest that belongs to the permanent welfare of this country advance at once. On this account, these men have no reason to be ashamed of their platform.

Of what avail is it, that you point your fingers at them, and say, 'You are traitors—destroyers of your country,—overthrowers of the Church of God,—you are disastrous to the welfare of a people'? Is it so? Depend upon it, if all we ask were done, every thing good under heaven would be promoted. We all know it would be so.

But then it is said by those who feel at liberty to compromise to a certain extent—'We cannot do this work at once, and therefore we are disposed to do it by such degrees as we are able. You are impracticable fellows; we are very practical; we are for accomplishing some things which can be done.' Now, I believe there are two kinds of impracticability—one springs from want of will, the other from want of way. I ask you if any thing we demand is not practicable, provided there was the will to do it? Is it not practicable,—the whole of it,—so that this Society should be abandoned, and its dangerous characters dismissed from the platform at once? Nothing is wanted but the will. 'Oh!' say you, 'there is not the will in Congress, in the nation, in the government, in the church, there is not the will in the great body of the people.' Then, my friends, is there the will to do right, or is there not the will to do wrong? But you say, 'What will you do? You are opposed to this glorious Union of ours.' Is your Union a Union to uphold liberty, or to uphold slavery? If it is a Union to uphold liberty, we would neither destroy it if we could, nor could we if we would. Is it not so?—we would not destroy it if we could, and we could not if we would. Is it not a Union to uphold slavery? If it is, I submit to you all that it is a Union that ought to be disavowed, that ought to be dissolved, that every honest and upright man, every true Christian, and patriot, and Republican, ought to say, at once, 'I cannot and will not support a Union which is used for the purpose of upholding slavery!' Now, you may settle that question for yourselves, whether the Union, as it is, is for the upholding of liberty or slavery. I tell you, that if this Union were not regarded at the South as upholding slavery, it would be abolished at once by them. If it be a Union that upholds slavery, we are bound to oppose it—we are bound to use our utmost exertions against it. A few honest men do this now, and the time will come when you will all be obliged to do it; for if you are not willing to take the initiatory steps, you will be forced to do it by the aggressions of slavery upon your own rights and liberties.

You say we are opposed to the Church. Is the Church pledged to give countenance to slavery? for if it is, we ought to be opposed to it. But if the Church is opposed to it, as to every crime in the decalogue, we cannot injure the Church. The Church can injure itself, but we cannot injure it—it is impossible. But, say you, if you insist upon these measures, the Union must be dissolved. What if it should be? Will the sun ever rise again? Will the moon shine? Will the stars give their light by night? Will there be any more produce out of the bosom of mother earth? Suppose we were obliged to dissolve it, to abolish slavery—would not the gain be greater than the loss, and whatever is good in the Union be preserved? But suppose, by upholding the Union, we uphold slavery. Slavery eats out and subverts the very good for which the Union was originated. Will you go for that? Slavery will not let the Union stand. A few years more will roll away, this tyranny persistently marching forward, till finally the avalanche will come down upon you all, and you will be obliged to take the very ground which we now say you ought to take upon principle. Just as surely as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, such will be the fact. A Union that upholds such a crime cannot stand. A Union that upholds such ends will become an intolerable curse to its own devotees—it cannot be otherwise.

You say, if we insist, it will break up every Church in the land. What a confession is this! The Church of Jesus Christ, the Congregationalist, the Presbyterian, the Episcopalian, the Baptist, the Unitarian, the Universalist Churches, all broken up by doing right—by doing that which we should all lift up our hands and beg of our dearest friends to do, if we had wife or child in bondage! Do not own it, my friends:—yes, own it, but with sorrow. Ministers would preach themselves out of their pulpits—they would not be tolerated, would not be heard there! That would be very uncomfortable and very disagreeable; but how can a man look in the glass and see his own face, and feel a consciousness that he is afraid of such a result as that? It is a sad result; but think of a minister being reduced to such a puppet as to fear to speak out in rebuke of crime, lest he should be deprived of the support of those beneath him! What a position is that for a Christian minister, one called by God, sent by the Holy Ghost to preach without fear or favor, and call men to repentance! Will you confess it?

But, you say, it is not expedient. Why? The Union will be dissolved. It is not expedient. Why? We cannot call on a large and powerful party to accomplish any good. It is not expedient. Why? The Church will be sundered, and it is not expedient that preachers should preach themselves out of their pulpits. For doing what? For doing what ought to be done, and what must and will be done; and it only remains to be seen whether you will allow those who have worked on this platform, by their internal fire producing this higher heat in the atmosphere, to work on unaided, or whether you will yourselves take part in the work, and act with them.

It is said we are impracticable. Now, practicability depends on what men undertake to accomplish. It is not practicable to dig stones with a cambric needle; it is not practicable to make a fine shirt with an iron bar; but it is practicable to dig stones with an iron bar, and to make fine shirts with a cambric needle. It is not practicable to raise an apple tree that shall bear twenty bushels of apples in five years, but you may do it in fifteen or twenty. Our work is before us. What is that work? Is it to abolish ministers, or churches, or constitutions, or laws, or existing public opinion? No, it is to correct them all; make them all feel ashamed of the wrong, if they do not feel an honest conviction against it. It is to stir them up, so that they cannot rest by night or day until they have put down this great evil. This is our work. You may say that twenty-five years have already been spent, and the work is not accomplished. Suppose it is the work of half a century, is it not a work necessary to be done? Why did we not hear this voice from the wilderness before? Why did we not hear it from the pulpit, from the halls of Congress, from large and popular conventions of politicians? Why was it left for this poor, despised 'infidel,' as he is called, (Mr. GARRISON,) to start it? In the honesty and simplicity of his own soul, he supposed he had nothing to do but tender the great idea to the Church and the ministry, and they would grasp it; to the most noble politicians, and they would grasp it; but they all turned round and said, 'This is a hot potatoe; we cannot hold it. (Laughter and applause.) You are going too far; you ask too much. We will do nothing at all, nor permit you to do any thing.' Then followed all this hard toil, all these appeals made to the consciences of those who could feel, and to the shame of those who could feel shame. Have these appeals been altogether ineffectual? No; consciences have been reached; and there are at this time, in this land, thousands and tens of thousands whose consciences have been awakened on this subject, and who are daily coming nearer and nearer to us. Is that doing nothing? Is that being impracticable altogether? Is it not the thing that must be done—the first thing? And if it had not been done, where would have been your Republican party, where would have been the power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself? When you perceive this fact, I think you will confess that there has been a degree of success.

Then we have produced another effect. We have awakened shame in the bosoms of those church members whose consciences did not compel them to come forward at first, so that they feel—'We must have some Anti-Slavery, after all. Slavery is a horrible thing, and we must be opposed to it, or we shall injure the cause of religion. We must be in favor of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, to some extent, or our church will not be respected. We must have something that goes part way, at least, in the same direction.' Out of that feeling has arisen those mighty influences which have sundered our most powerful religious denominations. How is it with the confessions that have been made? What does Dr. Barnes say? What is one of the strongest appeals he makes to his brother Presbyterians, to induce them to take an anti-slavery position? He says, 'The sentiment of the world is getting forward of us: the sentiment of the world is putting us to shame. We cannot retain the confidence of the people, if we allow the sentiment of the Church to get behind the sentiment of the world.' Who created that sentiment? and how could it have been created, except by a practical and practicable effort?

I tell you, this platform, after all, is a very practical thing. It has done that without which nothing could be done. Why, then, oppose it? I heard a man say this morning of this gathering—'It is only a meeting to abuse the Republican party and the Church; I would not be caught in such company.' Is not the thing right? Most certainly it is. Why, then, do you not come to it freely, heartily, and devote your energies to the great and noble work?

We look a little further, and we see that if New England is to go forward, the heat must be made hotter in the rear. You need these brave dragoons behind you, and if you could get them off the stage, you would lose by it. These men are the core of the onion, which permeates all the layers that surround it, even to the outside husk. First is the core, and then a cut,—that is a little diluted; then another, that has got so far off that it would not have any thing to do with the core if it could help it, but still the stamina is given to it. And so they go, until you get to the husk on the outside, and it says, 'I don't care anything about slavery'; and then, 'I would not give ninepence, or a "three-cent piece," to get rid of it.' (Laughter.) So this thing is working. I do not stand here to deal damnation to these various cuts of the onion. If I am not the core, I will try to be next to the core; and if you are only the outside husk, I hope the juice will reach you. You will yet be educated up to a higher position. What you are not brought into by conscience, you will be shamed into, and what you are not shamed into, you will be driven into by the slaveholders themselves, for they will take you by the ears, and grind your noses

on their grindstones, and make you do every thing they want you to do.

I want you to look at this matter conscientiously, sincerely, wherever you stand, in this light,—that this platform, after all, is a preferable platform to those which are nowhere near the onion. It is better than any expediency platform, than any diluted platform, which requires to be changed and made over anew every two or three years. This never will require any alteration. It begins by saying—'Robber! take your heel from the neck of that man! Let him stand up and be a man! We cannot fellowship you at all, in Church or State, until you do that. Let him get up! It is not a great thing to do. It is simply doing your duty.' The great shame is, that we do not all rise with a shout, and say—'Let the slaves have their rights—now, instantly!' You may choose to wait twenty-five or fifty years, before making this demand; but I advise you to jump on the Car of Emancipation at once, and help roll it on to its goal. In so doing, God will bless you, humanity will bless you, the angels in heaven will bless you. (Applause.)

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Wendell Phillips next addressed the meeting in a speech which was listened to with the most eager attention, and elicited frequent applause.

### SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Mr. President:

I am sorry to have been so long detained as to come before this audience at this late hour, for I feel that I have nothing to say in addition even to the single speech from our friend who sits behind me, (Mr. Ballou,) to which alone I have had the privilege of listening. I have nothing new to say. You will not be surprised that at these gatherings, repeated year after year, there is very little that is new to be offered. We can only repeat the same exposition of principle, varying it by application to the last facts, pointing the moral by the most recent history of the community.

I suppose, from the tenor of friend Ballou's remarks, that he supposed some of you would criticise the frankness of the remarks of some of the preceding speakers. I do not know what they were; but I recognise the usefulness of these meetings in this—they are meant for the most unfettered criticism. When any man stops to consider his words, I should hardly use too strong an expression if I say, these meetings will cease to be of any use. The Republican party meets beneath the roof of the Town Hall; the church, beneath the arches of its worshipping place of abode. We meet beneath God's heaven, with no roof but his sky to fetter our thoughts or our utterance. We have nobody to put into office, care for putting nobody out. We have no friends to make, no tender consciences to save, no personal considerations to be careful of. We have only to speak every where the absolute, living truth. That is our only trade, our only capital, ou only use in the world—the total, outside, extravagant, fanatic truth, rolled out so fearlessly, heedlessly, if you will, as to attract the attention of the most indifferent. That is our mission. John the Baptist in the desert, with no church to organize, no human institution to save or serve. Whoever comes here, and God has given him an honest thought which startles the rest of the community like an earthquake, our best service in living is to serve him for an audience, to be his sounding-board to echo that thought to the world.

In my view, Republicanism plays a very different part before the State. We have merely to plough deep, waken conscience, stir thought, hold up the eye to the North Star of the Future, and they must make the smooth road, the public highway, for the multitude to walk on. A very different function; let us not quarrel the one with the other. I recognise that distinctive difference. Republicanism in this State cannot afford to speak its whole mind. It cannot afford to speak even as much as Massachusetts will bear, for if it did, it would injure the cause on the banks of the Mississippi. My old college professor used to say, 'If I strike this table, the universe trembles.' So it did. If Henry Wilson lets out his whole soul in Massachusetts, it jeopards the election of a Republican Senator a thousand miles west. Provided he elects to be a Republican, he must therefore guard his words, must shape his action. To-day, the Republican party of Massachusetts have no principles to represent; they wanted a man to represent them, and they went to Waltham;—they could not have done better. (Loud laughter and applause.) Who finds fault with them?—not I. Mr. Banks has certain anti-slavery pretensions—so he has. Do you know the test by which, in college, when they have turned a glass wheel for a great length of time, they know whether or not it is charged with electricity? I will tell you. On a table at the side lie a dozen puff balls, and when they begin to mount up and attach themselves to the moving wheel, it is a sign the wheel is charged. Now, this State has been revolving under his hand [designating Mr. Garrison] for thirty years, and it is so highly charged with electricity that Mr. Puff Ball of Waltham rises up and attaches himself to it. (Laughter and applause.) It was no voluntary effort of his; it was his unwilling obedience to the law of his nature, which is to look behind him to his constituency before he answers a letter of candidateship. I do not find fault with the Republican party of Massachusetts for taking Mr. Banks as their representative in the present emergency. You remember the story of the old farmer who went into his barn in the twilight, and called out to his eldest son, 'Jack, what are you doing?' 'Nothing, sir.' 'What is your brother Ben doing?' 'Helping me, sir.' That is what Mr. Banks has been doing for the last year or two—helping the Republican party of Massachusetts do nothing.

As I said, I do not find fault with the Republican party for having taken Mr. Banks as their representative. They have done a wise thing; they have done a thing by which they will probably triumph, because they will have no burden of past history to carry. Nobody can charge Mr. Banks with ever having made an enemy by doing any thing. Nobody can hunt up his history, and having dragged some ugly or beautiful fact out of the darkness, say, 'Thou didst it!' for he is the mushroom growth of yesterday, with nothing at all to answer for, good, bad, or indifferent. (Laughter and applause.)

Do you ask me how the Republican party came into that condition? That, too, is the law of its being. You must not grow tired of the work God has set us to do. It is to create public opinion, to enlighten conscience, to strengthen purpose, to make sentiment pass into ideas, to strengthen ideas into habit, and then to sink habit into character. Men do not act from an idea. The mother that sees her child about to perish on the edge of a precipice, does not stop to reason, and say, 'If I leave him, he will fall over and be dashed to pieces.' With an instinct, part of her life, as much a part of her as the marrow of the spine, she rushes forward without a thought. It is an instinct, a prejudice. I want to create in New England a prejudice in favor of liberty equal to that of South Carolina in favor of slavery. I want the New Englander ready to fly at the face of the pro-slavery apologist, minister, politician, slaveholder, or any thing else, with the same irrepressible, inevitable prejudice that the hound flies at the neck of the deer. I never expect to see an anti-slavery triumph until then. I want it to be part of your blood, part of your bones; such a part of you as your Calvinistic hatred of an Irish Catholic, which makes up three-quarters of a Yankee. (Laughter.) But you must not expect Politics to wait until that deed is consummated. Politics seizes the torch as soon as it is lighted, and hurries on to do some immediate work with it. So it is in the Church. My friend here has been criticising the Church. A Church that ever got established and organized had already begun to rot. There never was a Church truly of God, the living Church of the age, that was not kicked into the desert by the organized Church of thirty years before. It is only exaggeration that covers truth to say, Organization is the first stage of corruption, for it is the minority, touched by God, yielding to the majority, in order to shape matters for the present. Here, one is a majority. If I am right, you do not begin to weigh against me. My friend Henry Wilson—who sits yonder, and who, I think, means as honestly by the slave as I do,—with his method and his purposes, must count noses, to find where his majority is, and he must keep back half his purposes, and must express himself to suit the present. I do not care for the present. I spit against fifty years for a back-ground in the future. I do not expect any man to recognise me until that time. He takes a different view; he does what he considers the work of the present moment. My friend Foster wants us to enter into the same partnership, a political one. I think it is bad philosophy. If there is a certain work to be done, and he wants to do it, I have no objection, not the least, to his taking that place and doing it. And if the Republican party had put Henry Wilson or Charles Sumner up for Governor of this State, I never would have said that they had no principle, and that they had found their correct representative in Mr. Banks, for Henry Wilson and Charles Sumner have a past; they do not need to say to-day what is their purpose hidden beneath the Republican measures of the present moment. Their past looks over their shoulders, and tells the world, whether they avow it to-day in words or not, that their real purpose is the abolition of slavery in the Carolinas themselves. Whoever put his ear low enough, whoever borrowed the Indian's ear, that could hear the grass grow, and then put it low enough to the earth to hear it grow in California,—who, even with that Indian delicacy of hearing, ever heard that Nathaniel P. Banks had any anti-slavery purpose, under any method? (Applause.) The fault I find with his letter is, that he opposes the schemes of the slavery propagandists. For what?—on what account does he oppose them? Nobody knows. He never has dared to say any where that he opposes them in behalf of the slaves of the Carolinas; that, not agreeing with us in Disunion as a method, not agreeing with us in this fanatical crusade against the Union as the proper means of reaching slavery, his method is to curb it in order to kill it. Nobody ever heard him say so. My friend Henry Wilson may offer, as I think he did most unhandsomely, on the floor of the Senate, to hang me and Garrison; but he may put gallows from Boston to Washington, they cannot hide his previous expressions of anti-slavery purpose so entirely, but what Carolina hears his footsteps approaching on her plantations, and hates him. That is the reason why I would like the Republican party had they chosen such a man for a representative, and deemed that they were still alive, and working in their field and function, by a different method, but for an honest end. But when they undertake to drift from all their moorings, to go out and select a man purely for the sake of gaining the State—no other reason,—not to cram one single additional item of anti-slavery principle down the throat of Massachusetts—not to advance the Anti-Slavery cause in this lull of politics, between the epidemic madness of Presidential elections, when the patient is able to listen—not to advance a tried veteran one single hair's breadth in the confidence of the people,—what good can they do?—who can trust them? When is Republicanism to approach the South, if not in such a year as this? Charles Sumner is settled in the Senate; Henry Wilson stands there also; there is no immediate purpose at risk. Now is the time when, if it be an Anti-Slavery party, to any extent, we have the right to claim of it that in its speeches and resolutions, in its public nominations, and in its plans and purposes, it shall announce not only its immediate purpose, but its final intention. They have not done it; and for this reason—because they are dead. To-day, the Republican party says nothing more than Daniel Webster said ten years ago. By the living God that made the sky above us, I would rather dig up Daniel Webster's bones from the grave at Marshfield, and put them into the Governor's chair, than put Mr. Banks there, with any hope of an anti-slavery purpose. (Applause.) It would take a strong man to sit in that chair, and be honest. Any common man will find it difficult to speak the truth in the Governor's chair, after Henry J. Gardner has sat there for three years. (Laughter and applause.) It has bent one way so long, that in order to stand straight, a man must bend to the other point of the compass.

My iden of a party is, that it takes some immediate measure and argues it to the people. I do not think it can afford to bear the responsibility of a meeting like this. When I advocated a resolution last winter, distinctly telling the country that Henry Wilson was not a Disunionist, I said it was a certificate for him against the charges made on the floor of the Senate; it was giving him our sign-manual that he was not guilty of hating the Union; that he loved it, and always supported it here. My idea is, that I shall be willing that he shall criticise me, to any extent, fairly, in the Senate, and that he shall be willing that I shall criticise him to any extent on the soil of Massachusetts; and it is only by the most relentless mutual criticism, it is only by the utmost frankness that we can serve so desperate a cause as ours. We have no measures to keep with Nathaniel P. Banks. I never met him within the girth of an Anti-Slavery meeting. I cannot, without an effort, form my lips to pronounce his name before Abolitionists. I should throw him aside, or trample over him, his present and his past, no matter what my criticism might be. If the Republican party stoops to lumber thrown aside, and picks it up for their building, they must not expect us to guard our words. But when our lips mention the names of men common and frequent upon them in years past, like that which I have named so often, like those we have all known, we pause. We do not judge them by a single act. If I judged the leaders of the Republican party to-day as I judge the rank and file, I would not waste five minutes' time in talking about them. I would throw them out of the window like waste rubbish. But I do not judge the Republican leaders by the action of to-day. I did not place confidence in them for one act; they shall not lose my confidence by one. 'Confidence is a plant of slow growth.' When I have known a man long, when I have summered and wintered him, stood shoulder to shoulder with him in many a struggle, borne the same abuse, fought in the same trenches, seen my name linked with his with the same epithets of scorn, by the same hunker press; when we have known each other for a quarter of a century, I lay his character on the shelf. And when, at a distance, he does some act, the circumstances of which I do not know, the motives for which I cannot understand, I do not take his character down for a single act. I judge the act by the character, and not the character by the act. Adams, and Sumner, and Wilson, and Palfrey, and him whom the grave has just closed over, my namesake of Salem,—I have labored with them for twenty years. Their characters were laid upon the shelf. It is not in the power of one puff-ball of Waltham to weigh them down. I do not judge them by a single act. I expect that political movement to be kicked into greater meaning in time to come. I believe that the healthy portion of the Republican party will yet find that they have been misled—that they will gravitate to the old Anti-Slavery centre again—that they will come back to the radical sentiment of the State; and that they have gone off from it is your fault and mine. Massachusetts is not so thoroughly abolitionized as they thought. It would not bear the political action that men fancied it would. The State that could swallow Henry J. Gardner is not within half a century of being Anti-Slavery, and we have borne him for three years. Massachusetts is not an Anti-Slavery State. There is only the nucleus, the kernel; there is only a small minority. The average of public opinion is not ripe for political action. The mistake of these men was in wasting that public opinion by hurrying it into political action. They have done us harm by the unconscious, by the innocent mistake, as it has been, of some, by the selfish mistake, as it has been, of others. They began politics too early; they have injured the Anti-Slavery cause by it, put it back. You cannot advocate so radical a question as this through the ballot-box so early. It is revolutionary—nothing less. My friend Stephen Foster wants to go to the ballot-box. The public opinion which will serve his purpose never will go to the ballot-box. The public opinion which will serve Henry Wilson, which will serve Kansas, and put back the Missouri Compromise to hem in slavery, will go to the ballot-box. The public opinion that thought of rebuking George the Third went to the ballot-box. The public opinion that thought of cutting his throat went to Bunker Hill; and if you want to find it, you will find it buried beneath the monument of Joseph Warren; and the public opinion Stephen Foster wants for his politics is the public opinion of revolution, nothing else. It is the public opinion which to-day stands at the right hand of Salmon P. Chase, and asks him—'Is there a State of Ohio? If there is, summon out the militia of the Buckeye State, and surround your Supreme Court, and show the nation that the broad seal of the sovereign State of Ohio shall be respected upon her soil; and if you yield to-day to the writ of the United States Marshal, the sovereignty of the State is gone, Slavery is triumphant, and the nation is a slaveholding monarchy, to all intents and purposes.' But Salmon P. Chase knows that when he takes that step, he takes the first step of revolution, defencible on no other logic; that he leans back on '76. He dare not take that step. Why? Because the Republicanism of New England never has braced him up to take it. The Republicanism of New England has obeyed law; the Republicanism of New England has ignored Garrisonism, because it was revolutionary; the Republicanism of New England has sworn by the Union. That is the reason why the West, which follows the public opinion of the East, is not ready to-day to endorse Wisconsin, and defy the United States Court. Slavery is too vigilant, too sagacious, ever to let us have a Bunker Hill in the streets; we shall have it in the courts, if any where. She will preach despotism just as the Stuarts did, in the stealthy guise of law, in judiciaries, in juries, in statutes, in prostituted judges. She does it to-day in the Dred Scott case; she does it to-day in the *forms* of law in Kansas, endeavoring to put the Free State men outside of the legality of their position. She is the government; she can always do that. If you wait, my Free Soil Republican friend, until you find the slaveholding aristocracy at fault, until you can resist them behind a writ, you will wait till long after your children are gray. 'On the side of the oppressor there was power.' On the side of slavery is the government, the *forms* of law. We have got to educate public opinion up to a willingness to resist the *forms* of law.

Now, you may say this is fanaticism; you may think it a very trifling thing, some of you. I know one of the ablest men in the Republican party, the leader of the State, as he knew he was, and responsible for the position of a party movement, who said to me in the Burns case, 'I dare not move a hair's breadth until you give me a constable and a writ. Give me a constable and a writ—I don't care whether it is a good writ or a bad one—but only give me a writ, and I will tear that Court House stone by stone to the earth.' Well, he spoke wisely; because he knew the Republican party could not live a day if it was made responsible for resistance to the *forms* of law. But how do they hope ever to conquer? Slavery has the government on its side; it has got the judges in its hands; it can appoint as many more; it can make the laws, and they can declare them constitutional; and not until Liberty rises up, as she did in '76, and tramples *forms* under her feet, and says, 'By the living God! I go for the essence!'—until she is willing to do that, there will not be the twilight of victory to the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the North.

Do not despair because I say that you have got to carry public opinion to that extent. We can carry it. We are not utterly without allies. Men sometimes stand and look up to the colossal wealth of the Slave Power—two thousand millions of dollars—and say, 'With such an immense bid for selfishness, what can we do?' I will tell you. Men act from a double motive. Men ride on a car with very uneven wheels: one is principle, the other interest. One gets along a hitch, then the other hitches; they never act together, or very rarely. Sometimes, in a happy moment, a man will act wholly from his ideas; as a general thing, he runs in the ruts of his old selfish habits. You may prophecy the future of this nation by multiplying its idea into its interest. You must not expect South-Side Adams by appealing to his heart; he has not got any. God only gave him a muscle to circulate the blood. (Laughter and applause.) You must not expect to appeal to the intellect of some men, for they have not got any; they only know enough, in State street, to count ten on their fingers, and then multiply. (Renewed laughter.) But there are men who act from conviction; there are men who act wholly from interest. We have interest on our side. If you can only get a sufficiency of pluck and determination into the minority, they can drag the majority along with them. Why, the world is not governed by majorities—it never was. Thank God, it never was! If it was, it would have to go down to the average of the race. The world is much better than the average of the race; for the world is governed by minorities—men in earnest, men who think. One man that thinks is an earthquake in a dead town like this, with five Orthodox churches, and no Anti-Slavery Society. (Loud applause.) Why, he thinks! That is high treason in America! Thinks? A man who thinks beneath the hunker calm of New England self-interest is like the giant in the old fable beneath the mountain of Etna, that every time he turned, there was an earthquake that shook the island. No, the world is never governed by majorities. Most men put out their thinking as they do their washing, to be done by their neighbors; very few men have the industry to do it for themselves; very few men want to do it; and most men are very willing other men should do it for them.

Then, again, when you look at interests, they are not all on the side of slavery. There are the Harpers. They count their wealth by millions, and are certainly rich enough to afford the luxury of a conscience. (Applause.) And yet, you know it has been their habit to expurgate English works published by them, omitting matter that might be offensive to the South. Twice they have been seen on their knees in the columns of the New York press, apologising for the accidental virtue of a forgetful hour, when they happed to publish a work whole. Now, you would think they had a far larger trade with the South than with the North. They have not. The head of that house confessed lately to an acquaintance of mine, that they sold only one-fifth of their publications south of Mason and Dixon's line; the other four-fifths are circulated at the North. The Missionary Society, that has been gagged and dumb, that has never dared to look South for fear of seeing something, gets one-sixth of its contributions from the South. The American Tract Society, that has just waked up this year, speaking something in tones that nobody has yet been able to understand, has only a fifth part of its contributions from the South. Even the Colonization Society gets from the North double what it does from the South. The Bible Society gets four times here what it does at the South. So that the interests of these very religious institutions, like those of our merchants, are at the North. Only let the North be as exacting as the South; only let her say, 'You shall love liberty,' as the South has said, 'You shall love slavery,'—that is all that is needed. A man went into the store of a friend of mine in New York city, and he said, 'If your shoemakers in Lynn don't mind your behavior, we South Carolinians won't buy any of your shoes.' 'Well,' said my friend, 'if you don't mend your manners, you shan't have our shoes.' (Laughter and applause.) If the spirit indicated in that answer could pervade the North,—if, when my friend whom I have named once or twice shows that he loves the Union more than he loves the slave, Massachusetts would send him back an answer so like one of our northeast snow storms that he could never get a train to bring him back to Massachusetts,—if we could teach those Republican representatives at Washington that Massachusetts expects them to love the slave, the living, suffering, agonizing slave, more than the dead fathers, swallowed up in lying eulogy for sixty years,—if Massachusetts would only teach them that, and make her soil too hot to hold them when they had uttered any praise of the Union, that would be much. Screw the nut up just as fast as we carry the building forward. I went into London Tunnel once. They were tunnelling the Thames, as they are tunnelling the Hoosac. There was an iron frame work, and a hundred men sat down behind it, digging out the earth with their hands; and as they threw out the dirt with one hand, they would screw up a nut with the other, and push the frame forward. Henry Wilson and Charles Sumner are the iron frame; my friend Mr. Garrison is the digger of the mud that obscures every vision, and with the other hand he screws up the nuts, and pushes them forward in the Commonwealth. (Applause.) Our Republican friends must not be angry if the nuts grate somewhat upon the iron frame, and push it forward somewhat violently. That is the use of such a meeting as this. It is to dig you out of your idols; to dig that fossil Whig out of his grave, and set him on the feet his mother gave him; to dig that half-blind Republican out of Henry Wilson, and set him up a Garrisonian, on his own feet. Criticise! Keep a look-out for Massachusetts! Take soundings! Find whether the pilot is wide awake! Find whether the helm sets down South, into Charleston, South Carolina!

We owe a heavy debt. We stand to-day with the blood of Daniel Drayton on our consciences. I demand it of the slavocracy, who murdered him in Washington prison for obeying the Sermon on the Mount; and every Abolitionist in New England should set his foot upon his green grave, and swear by the living God that no Massachusetts hand shall ever lock again the prison-doors of the District of Columbia against the Slave Savior of these New England States. (Loud applause.) What have we to do with a Union that takes the men who obey justice and mercy, and murders them in the capital of the States? Forswear it!

I will tell you the kind of Republicanism that I have no fault to find with. I do pick a bone with Henry Wilson—I picked it with him in private. I do not like his Union sentiments. I do not like Massachusetts Republicanism to be one end of a magnetic telegraph, of which Illinois is the other. I do not like a Republicanism that has to hold Massachusetts down to the level of Pennsylvania. That is National Republicanism. Now, I will tell you what sort of Republicanism I like—a Republicanism which does not, no matter what the necessity, confuse or conceal its ultimate purpose. I envy Republicanism no victory that she can gain in Massachusetts, if she will gain it thus; if she will say, 'My only object is, at present, to get back the Missouri Compromise; but the only reason for which I seek it is, because I think that getting it back will enable me to abolish slavery in the Carolinas.' If she will keep that declaration flying at the mast-head, if she will never attempt to gain a victory by concealing it—that is honest politics. She differs from us. She thinks it necessary to take a crumb instead of the whole loaf. No, that is not it; like the boy, who went to the menagerie without a ninepence in his pocket, and told the keeper he would take a look at the picture outside instead of the bear, she takes a picture of the loaf instead of the loaf.—She takes the symbol of anti-slavery for the reality, I think.

But, bless you, these men need to be educated. I am willing to give Henry Wilson four years to get him into the Normal School. I am willing to give Amos Lawrence the whole State of Kansas to educate him into an Abolitionist. He came to me, and asked me for money for Kansas; I was fool enough to give him some. (Laughter.) I said, 'It will not do an atom of good in Kansas, but it will teach you that you are a fool for trying to get Kansas for an Anti-Slavery end, and I am willing to educate you.' So I say to Charles Francis Adams—the ablest man in Massachusetts for a politician, if culture, and experience, and sagacity, and honesty, make ability. I say to him, 'You do not know what you are about—I think so; but the years you are trying will educate you. God speed you for your education! I am willing to stand by and see it; and in the meantime, whenever you make a palpable mistake, I shall say so. I do not doubt your honesty. Thank God, your face is Zionward; and so long as it is—so long as you kick Carolina, and Carolina kicks you, God save you! I do not care where you stand, if you stand pointing in that direction.' Mr. Banks does not point anywhere. (Laughter.) The fault I find with him is, that his friends cannot trust him out; that when his mother does not know where he is, they revise his speech. Why, he made a speech on the steps of the New York Exchange—the second man in the Government, the Speaker of the House of Representatives—first in the Republican movement, officially, for he takes rank before the Senators—he made a speech, and said—the recreant! he said, with the history of Anthony Burns and Thomas Sims ringing in his ears, with the Boston pavement polluted by the step of United States troops carrying away a slave under martial law—he, the recreant Massachusetts boy, said he had no objection to the Fugitive Slave Law! The New York papers printed it; and his Boston friends, when it was printed on the indignant soil of Massachusetts, had to expurgate the foul sentence, and let it stand, simply, that he had no objection to the Compromise measures. I do not make Massachusetts Governors worthy of the name out of such timber as that! But, between the dead body and the living one, you must put fresh soil—soil that may have no seeds in it, no grass on it, but it must be soil.—Well, between Henry J. Gardner, a living grave, you may put the dead soil of Nathaniel P. Banks. For God's sake, put something in that chair before a decent man sits down upon it! (Loud cheers.) I do not know as we could afford any body but a non-conductor. When I was in Rome, I saw some of the marble steps that were said to be the steps of Pilate's Hall, up which the Saviour went to judgment; and the pious Catholics had covered them with two-inch plank of oak, that no Catholic foot, even, should ever touch the sacred marble. The devilish rottenness of Gardner we will cover with the New England pine—Banks. It is not oak, it is not walnut, it is not maple, it is not elm—it is only pine, of which we make scaffolding in building, glad to throw it down when the work is done.

But our work is behind these men, to create public opinion. After all, party is but a weathercock—it will point which way you make it. Principles!—it is for you to make principles. I come to this meeting on purpose to criticise you, Republicans. I came to show you the work you ought to do, the work you are doing. I allow you just your proper place in the Anti-Slavery movement; I am willing to take mine—down in the trenches, making the moral highway, unseen, to be thrown aside when the road is done. Yes, I will acknowledge it all. You are the men to walk over us—to walk over us to triumph. You are welcome to do it, only do not kick us as you go. Recognize the service we did and do you. Help us in raising higher this Massachusetts sentiment. There are men at the South that heed it. I read a book the other day from the pen of a North Carolinian—a noble book. He calculates the motives which the non-slaveholders have for abolition. Why, he says, the very land that we non-slaveholders own would be raised in value twice the whole value of the slaves, if the slaveholders would only let the slaves go free. Four thousand millions of dollars—ay, as some calculate, six thousand millions of dollars would be added to the value of the land owned by non-slaveholders alone, if the South were free. The land owned by slaveholders would gain three thousand millions of dollars in value by freedom. There is another weight of interest on the side of liberty and justice. Our hay crop at the North, from Plymouth Bay back to the Illinois prairies, is worth double the cotton crop, any year; and you may put tobacco, rice, hemp, sugar, and cotton, all into one scale, and nothing but the hay-mow into the other, and the Southern products kick the beam. Yes, interest is on our side. In order to get that mechanism in operation, you must put the impetus of opinion behind it. In order to get that opinion, every man must speak his mind,—just what he thinks, and means, and wants.

If Republicanism takes office, it is my servant; it is the servant of Massachusetts. If Republicans go to Washington, they go as our agents. Every man has a right to criticise his agents. If they do not like to be criticised, let them stay at home. The politician must be case-hardened; he must have a skin tough enough to bear criticism. The man who goes to Washington to-day to serve Massachusetts must get a hide thick enough to stand Stephen Foster's spear (applause); and until he has one, he has no right to go. He has no right to complain of criticism. He ought to come here and ask it. Every man who loves the slave ought to ask it. I will give double for a book written against the Anti-Slavery cause than for one that is written in its favor. I had rather learn from the critic. I had rather talk—not with South-side Adams, for he has not got any heart—but I had rather talk with Dr. Ross, with the New York *Herald*, with the Charleston *Mercury*, than with the Anti-Slavery men and papers of the Free States. They tell us what they think our faults. We have got a great cause in our hands—the work of a generation—the welfare of four millions of people—the greatest practical work ever given to man. We have got a Normal School for the whites. Our idea is not only to save the colored race, it is to educate the white race in justice, in civil liberty, in self-government, in moral philosophy. God gave us Anti-Slavery to save Christianity. If there is a Christian Church left in New England, it is not owing to the ministers, it is owing to the slaves; it is owing to the mute hand of the slave raised to the Northern Abolitionist, who takes the Bible, and claims of Christianity that it shall be true to its purpose.

This is the responsibility laid upon us. Who shall dare to tone down his speech, to frame it to suit any body, to conceal aught that God has taught him? No; throw it into the common cauldron of public opinion, and out of it, by the blessing of God, will come an Anti-Slavery purpose, intelligent, adequate, relentless, determined. And when that comes, the Anti-Slavery cause is won. (Loud applause.)

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Rev. Andrew T. Foss made a statement with reference to the slanderous charges recently made against him by Mr. Bowles, principal editor of the Boston *Traveller*; and also to the *Traveller's* retraction of those charges. Mr. Foss said he had taken no little pains to discover the origin of the slander that he had used the words 'I hate Jesus Christ,' and he had been unable to find or to learn that it had appeared in any other paper than the *Traveller*; and he had come fully to the conclusion that it was a fabrication of the *Traveller's*. Mr. F. then spoke of the dishonest way in which the *Traveller* had retracted the charge, leaving it to be supposed by the general reader that an accidental error only had been committed, for which the editor was sincerely sorry. Mr. Foss said it ought to be known that it was from no love of justice or sense of honor and duty that the *Traveller* had retracted its base charge; but wholly and solely under the pressure of an anticipated prosecution for defamation. Mr. Foss said that he knew of no journal in the country, North or South, more virulently hostile in spirit to the cause of freedom, or more proscriptive towards its friends, than the Boston *Traveller*. The multitude present seemed to be of Mr. Foss's way of thinking.

George W. Stacey, of Milford, then briefly addressed the meeting in a very encouraging strain, and referred to the time when, on seeing a gallows erected in front of Mr. Garrison's residence in Boston in the mobocratic times of 1835, he warmly espoused the cause of the slave, and from that period to the present he had given to it his unwavering support.

Mr. May read the following letter from John B. Gough, the celebrated Temperance lecturer:—

Hillside, Boylston, July 1, 1857.

Rev. Samuel May, Jr.:

Dear Sir—Your favor of the 27th ult., I received on Monday.

I regret that I shall be unable to be at Framingham on the 4th of July. When I spoke with Parker Pillsbury about it, I thought I might perhaps attend the Convention; but an unexpected press of business will prevent my leaving home at all before sailing, except to speak in Worcester next week. I have been so constantly engaged in endeavoring to advance the interests of Temperance, that I have not been privileged often to be present at Anti-Slavery meetings. But be assured, dear sir, that with all the strength of my soul do I hate the accursed system of slavery; and as an Abolitionist, my sympathies are with all of every sect, party, creed or color, who are endeavoring to *crush* it out of existence.

As a professing Christian, I believe that my love to God must beget in me love to my neighbor, and I consider all the human family, every man and woman, high or low, rich and poor, bond and free, even the Rev. Dr. Ross, of Tennessee, as my neighbor.

Could I see my way clear, I should have been happy to send you an acceptance of your invitation to be present at the meeting on Saturday.

I am, most truly and respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

John B. Gough.

—

Woonsocket, June 20, 1857.

My Dear Sir:

Yours of yesterday is just received.

It would afford me great pleasure to join the 'Faithful' at Framingham on the 4th of July. I hope to do so as a *hearer*; but my health has compelled me to relinquish all public speaking for the present, and I cannot expect to be able to assist you on that occasion in that way.

With ardent hope in the ultimate triumph of humanity, I am,

Fraternally yours,

John Boyden.

Rev. Samuel J. May, Jr.

—

The hour of 5 o'clock having arrived, it was necessary to bring the speaking and public exercises to a close, which was done with singing the doxology,

'From all that dwell below the skies,
Let the Creator's praise arise'—

and the audience dispersed, with the feeling which appeared to be general that no previous occasion of the kind had ever been more satisfactory, and that a more favorable day for the purpose could hardly have been desired. We cannot wholly refrain from expressing the pleasure, felt by the few who were aware of the fact, that amongst the audience were not only three newly-escaped victims of slavery, but also one, a young, intelligent and interesting lady, (whose family are extensive slaveholders in Kentucky,) who, having conceived from her earliest years an abhorrence of slavery and a deep sympathy with the slave population around her, had formed the fixed resolve never to be herself a slaveholder, and who has given freedom to the slaves who had been bequeathed to her, although by so doing she has impoverished herself. Noble and glorious deed, though it be one of simple justice only! May the heroic spirit of this young girl animate us all to a more entire devotion to the work of freedom, and fire many souls with a kindred flame!

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*
Henry O. Stone, Joseph A. Howland, } *Secretaries.*

*CELEBRATION*
OF
## British West India Emancipation.

The Anniversary of that most glorious act in British history, the Emancipation of Eight Hundred Thousand Chattel Slaves in the West India Islands—consummated by the potency of moral agitation, and achieved without the spilling of a single drop of human blood,—will be celebrated (under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society) on SATURDAY, AUGUST 1st, at Island Grove, ABINGTON,—the friends of freedom every where being most cordially invited to be present, and to participate in the proceedings, that the day may be hastened when a still more glorious jubilee may be effected in our own land, in behalf of a five-fold larger slave population. It is hoped that they will rally on the occasion like a gathering host.

A Special Train of cars will leave the *Old Colony R. R. Depot* in Boston at 9.30 A. M., for the Abington Grove, and return at 6½ o'clock, P. M. Fare, to go and return—*Fifty cents* for adults; *Twenty-five* cents for children.

From Plymouth to the Grove—Leave Plymouth at 9.20, A. M., and return at 6.10. Fare—*Fifty cents* for adults, *Twenty-five cents* for children.

In case of unpleasant weather, the Town Hall (near to the Grove) will afford accommodation to the meeting.

☞ The pic-nic plan will be followed as heretofore, persons taking their own provisions with them; but refreshments will be for sale at the Grove, as usual.

A strong array of able and eloquent speakers may be expected on the occasion. Particulars hereafter.

In behalf of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*
Robert F. Wallcut, *Rec. Sec.*

### INDEPENDENCE DAY.

The proceedings of the Framingham celebration occupy almost every inch of room of our inside form, to the exclusion of much other interesting matter designed for our present number.

In Boston, the day was celebrated by the city authorities in the usual manner, by a public procession, an oration at the Tremont Temple, delivered by Rev. William R. Alger, Unitarian minister of the Bulfinch street church in this city, and a dinner at Faneuil Hall. The oration was remarkable for its rhetorical eloquence, and the fidelity with which it portrayed and rebuked our national sins and excesses, particularly in regard to war, filibustering, slavery propagandism, &c. One particular passage in it instantly set all the hunker wolves to howling, and all the pro-slavery snakes to hissing. Mr. Alger said:—

'When we are lifting our marble martyr to his niche on Bunker Hill, the slaveholder who forced the Fugitive Slave Bill down our throats is introduced, with complimentary flunkeyism, into the very shadow of the awful place, and we listen to his haughty-toned common-places with respectful patience.'

At the dinner which followed at Faneuil Hall, Mr. Alger was insolently and bitterly assailed for his noble sentiments by those 'Border Ruffian' demagogues, Col. I. H. Wright and C. L. Woodbury, U. S. District Attorney, paid mercenaries of the Slave Power; but they failed to intimidate the object of their venomous assault. On Monday, contrary to all usage, the Board of Aldermen refused, by a vote of nine to one, (Alderman Bonney,) to print the oration, or to pass the customary vote of thanks! Miserable dirt-eaters, they shall have their reward—the scorn of the South, and the contempt of all noble souls. Mr. Alger will receive the thanks of posterity, and of all the true-hearted friends of freedom, wherever his deed shall be known.

In the evening, a terrible accident occurred, during the progress of the fireworks. By the explosion of a mortar, four persons were killed, and several others wounded.

Appointment. We are pleased to learn that Rev. N. R. Johnston, of Topsham, Vt., has been appointed a lecturing Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to labor in the State of Vermont, &c., at such times as his present engagements will allow time for; and that he has accepted the appointment. We are also glad to know that Charles L. Remond has engaged to spend a portion of the present summer in the same State.

☞ A letter from F. W. Bird, Esq., of Walpole, in reply to our Worcester correspondent last week, is unavoidably deferred.

Sudden Death of Hon. William L. Marcy. The late U. S. Secretary of State, Hon. Wm. L. Marcy, died very suddenly at Ballston Spa on the 4th inst.

### PLEDGES

*At Framingham Grove, July 1, 1857, to Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.*

| | |
|---|---|
| John C. Hayes, Boston, | $10 00 |
| Mrs. Denny, Clappville, | 5 00 |
| Thomas P. Knox, Boston, | 5 00 |
| R. W. Henshaw, " | 5 00 |
| Lucynda Lyford, | 1 00 |
| Isaac Mason, | 1 00 |
| Ebenezer Hemmenway, | 1 00 |

☞ MEETINGS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Wm. Wells Brown will speak on Slavery, at the City Hall, Dover, on Sunday evening next, July 12; at Rochester, on Tuesday, 14th; and at Exeter, on Thursday, 16th.

☞ MEETINGS AT WORCESTER.—Wm. Wells Brown and Miss Frances E. Watkins will hold meetings at Worcester, on Saturday and Sunday, July 18 and 19, commencing on Saturday evening, and continuing during the day on Sunday.

☞ MEETINGS AT FELTONVILLE.—Wm. Wells Brown and Miss Frances E. Watkins will hold meetings at Feltonville on Saturday and Sunday, July 25 and 26, commencing on Saturday evening and continuing during the day on Sunday.

☞ CHARLES LENOX REMOND, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will speak on Slavery and the Decision of Judge Taney, in the Town Hall, North Danvers, on Sunday evening next, June 12, commencing at half-past 7 o'clock. Collection to defray expenses.

☞ SOUTH NEWMARKET, N. H.—Parker Pillsbury will attend meetings next Sunday, July 12, forenoon and evening, at the usual hours, in South Newmarket, N. H.

☞ WM. LLOYD GARRISON will deliver a lecture on the Mission of Christianity, in Union Hall, at PORT NORFOLK, (Dorchester,) on Sunday afternoon next, July 12, at 3 o'clock.

☞ The undersigned wishes to find temporary or permanent homes for two colored boys, aged 11 and 8,—in the country, if *possible*. As they were emancipated by their master in Kentucky on condition that proper care should be taken of them in a free State, it may be regarded as an anti-slavery duty to provide for them. They are active and intelligent boys, and would do well under judicious management.

T. W. HIGGINSON.

Worcester, June 21, 1857.

## POETRY.

### A PLAIN MAN'S PHILOSOPHY.

BY CHARLES MACKAY.

I've a guinea I can spend,
I've a wife and I've a friend,
And a troop of little children at my knee, John Brown.
I've a cottage of my own,
With the ivy overgrown,
And a garden with a view of the sea, John Brown;
I can sit at my door
By my shady sycamore,
Large of heart, though of very small estate, John Brown.
So come and drain a glass, (*)
In my arbor as you pass,
And I'll tell you what I love and what I hate, John Brown.

I love the song of birds,
And the children's early words,
And a loving woman's voice, low and sweet, John Brown;
And I hate a false pretence,
And the want of common sense,
And arrogance, and fawning, and deceit, John Brown.
I love the meadow flowers,
And the brier in the bowers,
And I love an open face without guile, John Brown;
And I hate a selfish knave,
And a proud, contented slave,
And a lout who'd rather borrow than he'd toil, John Brown.

I love a simple song,
That awakes emotions strong,
And the word of hope that raises him who faints, John Brown;
And I hate the constant whine
Of the foolish who repine,
And turn their good to evil by complaints, John Brown;
But ever when I hate,
If I seek my garden gate,
And survey the world around me, and above, John Brown,
The hatred flies my mind,
And I sigh for human kind,
And excuse the faults of those I cannot love, John Brown.

So, if you like my ways,
And the comfort of my days,
I will tell you how I live so unvex'd, John Brown;
I never scorn my health,
Nor sell my soul for wealth,
Nor destroy one day the pleasures of the next, John Brown;
I've parted with my pride,
And I take the sunny side,
For I've found it worse than folly to be sad, John Brown;
I keep a conscience clear,
I've a hundred pounds a year,
And I manage to exist and to be glad, John Brown.

* A glass of cold water, nothing else, John Brown. —*Ed. Lib.*

### OUR NEIGHBORS.

How many social ties there are neglected,
That should rejoice our days!
How many happy spirits sit dejected,
Beside the world's highways!

A blessing, then, be on those pleasant faces
That genial warmth impart!
Sunbeams they are that brighten darksome places
Within the human heart.

Such cheerful faces have I to befriend me,
In our retired street:
What pleasant nods and kindly smiles they send me,
Whene'er our glances meet!

How joyous is our morning salutation!
How hearty our good night!
Ten thousand visits without preparation,
How welcome with delight!

The household news, how earnestly related,
And small domestic cares!
The aches and ailments mutually stated,
And costs of various wares.

Trifling indeed these themes of conversation,
And yet momentous still;
For the small world of household occupation
These topics almost fill.

And let not those who legislate for nations
Despise these little things—
The heads of family administrations
Bear weightier cares than kings.

Our silent street is like a river flowing
Towards the commercial sea;
But the rude storms, with all their furious blowing,
Do us no injury.

There is no tariff on the freight we charter,
From heart to heart they move;
The noble fortunes that we make by barter
Are those of growing love.

May peace be with you, then, my pleasant neighbors!
Wherever you abide,
And when we leave this scene of earthly labors,
We'll still keep side by side.

### GIVE ME THE PEOPLE.

BY CHARLES SWAIN.

Some love the glow of outward show;
Some love mere wealth, and try to win it;
The house to me may lowly be,
If I but like the people in it.
What's all the gold that glitters cold,
When linked to hard or haughty feeling?
Whate'er we're told, the nobler gold
Is truth of heart, and manly dealing!
Then let them seek, whose minds are weak,
Mere fashion's smile, and try to win it;
The house to me may lowly be,
If I but like the people in it.

A lowly roof may give us proof
That lowly flowers are often fairest;
And trees, whose bark is hard and dark,
May yield us fruit and bloom the rarest!
There's worth as sure 'neath garments poor,
As e'er adorned a loftier station;
And minds as just as those, we trust,
Whose claim is but of wealth's creation!
Then let them seek, whose minds are weak,
Mere fashion's smile, and try to win it;
The house to me may lowly be,
If I but like the people in it.

### THERE COMES A TIME.

There comes a time, or soon or late,
When every word unkindly spoken,
Returns with all the force of fate,
To bear reproof from spirits broken,
Who slumber in that tranquil rest,
Which waking cares no more molest.

Oh! were the wealth of worlds our own,
We freely would the treasures yield,
If eyes that here their last have shone,
If lips, in endless silence sealed,
One look of love o'er us might cast,
Might breathe forgiveness to the past.

When anger arms the thoughtless tongue,
To wound the feelings of a friend,
Oh! think ere yet his heart be wrung,
In what remorse thy wrath may end:
With'ld to-day the words of hate,
To-morrow it may be too late!


# The Liberator.


### THE N. Y. TRIBUNE AND THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

*To the Editor of the Liberator:*

SIR,—The New York (weekly) *Tribune*, dated May 23d, in an article headed 'Anti-Slavery,' speaking of the American Anti-Slavery Society, asks the following question, appending the subsequent remarks:

'Why is it that this Society gains no hold on the masses, and cannot claim a numerical ascendancy in any township or ward throughout the Union? Bad as the world is, it is not a desert without oases; and if the Garrisonians were wholly right, it is hardly possible that they should be every where outnumbered.

'In our judgment, the radical defect of this Society inheres in its stubborn refusal to perceive vital and palpable distinctions, to recognize manifest and essential limitations, and to regard inevitable facts. Its general policy resembles that of a pedestrian who, being in New York, bound for Pittsburgh, should draw a bee-line from his starting-point to his destination, and insist on following it throughout, regardless of whatever rivers, mountains or morasses might oppose his progress.'

The American Anti-Slavery Society, in accordance with its first resolve at its late Anniversary in New York, adopts, as the basis of its action, the following self-evident truths, viz.: 'All men are created free and equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain natural and inalienable rights, among which is the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' The masses do not believe these truths; they never did believe them; and this is the reason why the Garrisonians are every where outnumbered.

The object of the American Anti-Slavery Society is the liberation of the slave. The slave is in bondage, and there is but one way in which he can be liberated, and that is, by a strict adherence to these truths, in theory and practice. The course of those who thus adhere to these truths may, very properly, be represented by the idea of a bee-line between two given points. Those two points are—Slavery and Liberty, or Bondage and Freedom. Between those points, the road is direct and plain. In this road, there are no rivers, mountains or morasses to obstruct the onward progress of the traveller; it is only in the way of those who have not found this road that these obstacles appear.

I said, the masses do not believe these truths; they never did believe them. In 1776, the masses, by their representatives, declared, 'We hold these truths to be self-evident'; but by the side of this they put the following—'They [the States] have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.'

This was the first promulgation in America of the doctrine of 'State rights'—the assumption, by the Colonies, of the power of State—or 'State sovereignty,' and its first provision is for war. 'It is a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life,' consequently the levying of war by a State, or States, is an assumption of power not founded in right, but standing in direct opposition to self-evident truth. The idea, or assertion, that a State or States have the right to levy war, or to take the life of man, under any circumstances, is a self-evident error or falsehood, because standing in direct opposition to self-evident truth.

Did the masses, by their representatives and otherwise, levy and prosecute war to the taking of human life? They did—and that is proof positive that they did not believe the self-evident truth that all are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life. They believed that, under certain circumstances, the State has the right to take the life of man. They believed the doctrine of 'State rights,' of 'State sovereignty.' They believed the doctrine of the supremacy of governmental enactments over the God-given inalienable rights of man.

They were not on the bee-line—they were not Garrisonians.

Again, in 1787, the masses, then holding a part of the people in slavery under State laws, met, by their representatives, in the capacity of States, to form a Constitution for the United States; and in that Constitution they ordain that three-fifths of persons not free, or persons held in slavery under State laws, shall be added to the whole number of free persons in getting the number of Representatives in Congress, and they have acted on that theory from that time to the present:—and that is proof positive that they did not believe the self-evident truth that all men are created free, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty. They believed the doctrine of State rights—the doctrine of State sovereignty, of the supremacy of State laws, or legislative enactments, in governing or controlling the people of a State. They believed that a State has the right, under certain circumstances, to take from man his liberty. But the making of laws, by a State or States, which shall take from man his liberty, is an assumption of power not founded in right, but standing in direct opposition to self-evident truth. The idea, or assertion, that a State or States, have the right, under any circumstances, to take from man his liberty, is a self-evident error or falsehood, because standing in direct opposition to self-evident truth.

The masses were not, and are not, on the bee-line. The masses were not, and are not, Garrisonians.

The *Tribune* having quoted one of the resolves adopted by the American Anti-Slavery Society at its late Anniversary, says—

'The mistaken assumptions in this resolve are as follows: 1. That the North, by its Union with the South to attain certain ends in which they are mutually interested, does necessarily "give its sanction and support to slavery." We hold, in opposition to this view, that the North, as represented in Congress by Seward and Sumner and Giddings, and in the State governments by Chase and Hamlin and Holley, does not "give its sanction and support to slavery," but does all it may rightfully do to limit and cure this dreadful evil.'

The North as well as the South, including Seward and Sumner and Giddings, Chase and Hamlin and Holley, swears support to the clause that gives to the slaveholder a representation for slavery on the floor of Congress; and that is proof positive that the North, as well as the South, does not believe the self-evident truth, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty. To say that the North, including these men, believes these truths, while it swears support to a slave representation in Congress, would be to charge it with crime—with the deliberate commission of known wrong. The North, as well as the South, including Seward and Sumner and Giddings, Chase and Hamlin and Holley, does not believe these truths, but believes, with the South, that it is right, under certain circumstances, to swear support to a representation for slavery on the floor of Congress, 'to attain certain ends in which they are mutually interested.' The North, with the South, including these men, believes the doctrine of 'State rights,'—'State sovereignty,'—'the right of a State to control its own affairs,' 'to regulate its own institutions,'—'the supremacy of State laws' over the God-given rights of man. The North, with the South, including these men, believes that a State has the right, under certain circumstances, to take from man his liberty.

But to say that the North, including these men, does not give its sanction and support to slavery, while it swears support to this clause, is to say that a thing does not exist and does exist at the same time, which is an impossibility. The men who say that are not on the bee-line. They are among the rivers, mountains and morasses that lie in the way of those who strike hands with the oppressor. They are not Garrisonians.

The *Tribune* continues:—

'The Garrison resolve proceeds to say that, under the Union, the North can make no consistent moral resistance to slavery in the Territories, because, "if it would be a curse and crime to plant it in Kansas, it is no less criminal and disastrous to perpetuate it in Carolina." Yes; but the Republican party, which opposes the planting in Kansas, does not perpetuate it in Carolina. It has power over the question of planting slavery in Kansas; it has no power over, consequently no responsibility for, its perpetuation in Carolina.'

Shade of the slave who fell on the cotton-fields of Carolina, covered with wounds received in the house of thy professed friends, move lightly with thy wing the air that fans the American Republic, for darkness has covered the land, and gross darkness the people! They have bound thee with fetters of iron, and know it not. They have sold thee into slavery, and are ignorant of the fact. The fathers of the Republic decreed thee not an elector in choosing Representatives for Congress, because Carolina refused to acknowledge thy manhood, yet they reckoned thee three-fifths of a man in counting up for the number of Representatives from Carolina on the floor of Congress, and their children swear support to this unrighteous decree, and then say, We are guiltless of the blood of the slave—we have no responsibility for the perpetuation of slavery in Carolina!

The founders of the American Republic bound themselves and their posterity by an oath, so long as they shall sustain that Republic, to deliver thee up on claim, should thou escape from Carolina to another State, as a condition on which the Union was formed, and as a recognition of 'State rights,' of 'State sovereignty,' and the Republican party, at its National meeting, 'assembled for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice President' of the United States, resolves that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, shall be preserved; and yet the *Tribune* says, the Republican party has no responsibility for the perpetuation of slavery in Carolina!

But, neither the unrighteous decreeing of legislative enactments, nor the false doctrine of 'State rights' or 'State sovereignty,' shall longer hold thy loved form in the cold embrace of chattel slavery, for the power of the American Republic is no more.

Further, the *Tribune* says:

'The resolve proceeds to ring several changes on the same idea, closing with the assertion that "any other issue with slavery in this country, save that of its immediate and total abolition, is wild and delusive." To this we reply, that slavery in the old States has in a generation been kept vital and aggressive by means of successive additions of territory, whereby slaves were rendered valuable, and slave-breeding profitable; and that slavery would have died out ere this, after becoming an intolerable burden to the masters, but for these annexations, which the free States had the right to prevent, while they had no legal power over, consequently no right to abolish, slavery in Virginia.'

The point here made is, that the 'Free States' have in a generation been responsible for the vitality and aggressions of slavery, that they are responsible for the continuance of slavery itself; the vitality, the aggressions, and even the existence of slavery having been dependent on the successive additions of territory which the 'Free States' had the right to prevent.

If this point be sustained, it is proof positive that the 'Free States,' no more than the 'Slave States,' believe the self-evident truth, that all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty; and this brings us to the conclusion of the whole matter, viz.: that the masses, including the fathers, the founders of the Republic, their children, the North, the South, the Republican party, the 'Free States' and the 'Slave States,' do not, and never did, believe the self-evident truths, that all men are created free and equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And this is the reason why the Garrisonians are every where outnumbered.

The *Tribune* closes its article as follows:—

'It would seem needless to adduce considerations and insist on distinctions so obvious and palpable; but when we see men of undoubted ability and moral worth beating the air, and leading others astray, through lack of their perception, we cannot refrain from speaking, though we know that, so far as the apostles of this misdirection are concerned, all remonstrance is vain. They will persevere as they have begun, being effective mainly in the utterance of sweeping philippics against the Christian Church and the American Union, just adapted to being caught up and dilated on by pro-slavery orators and journals, in order to bury the Republican movement under the undeserved reproach of being hostile to Christianity and hostile to the Union.'

The Republican movement is not hostile to its Christianity, nor hostile to its Union, but has been true to them both; but its Christianity is a spurious Christianity, beginning with war, which is the opposite of peace; its Union is a slaveholding Union of States, coming into existence by the assumption of powers not founded in right, but standing in direct opposition to self-evident truth, consequently in direct opposition to the kingdom and government of God. Let the Republican movement, its Christianity and its Union, be buried together!

The American Anti-Slavery Society calls upon the people of America to reduce to practice the self-evident truths that all men are created free and equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

WILLIAM S. FLANDERS.

Cornville, (Me.) June 22, 1857.

### THE PROSPECT IN OREGON.

☞ The following letter from a highly respectable and intelligent gentleman in Oregon to C. K. WHIPPLE will be perused with interest by our readers:—

OREGON CITY, May 11, 1857.

DEAR SIR:

I have recently received from you a package of anti-slavery Tracts, Nos. 2, 4, 8, 9, 13, 17, with the request that I examine them, and give you my views as to the desirableness of circulating them in Oregon.

To understand our wants, it is necessary to understand us, as a people. One familiar with the early settlement of our new Territories and States knows that the population comes together from many different regions, with discordant views and prejudices, and, as a whole, below the average in education and intelligence. Our border States, and our Southern States, have so far, excepting in the case of Kansas, and the extreme Northern Territories, furnished by far the largest quota of population. This is especially true of Oregon. Our population is largely from Missouri and Central and Southern Illinois. They bring with them much of the hostile feeling that, perhaps, five to ten years ago more fully pervaded those sections than now, against anti-slavery men, anti slavery agitation, and the *awful* name of Abolitionist. Consequently, great prudence is necessary to avoid, at the start, arraying these prejudices against the Free State movement.

There is another element to be taken into the account. Scattered on large claims, very much cut off from religious and educational privileges, our people are not a religious and cultivated people. Too many are entirely indifferent on the subject, and arguments drawn from the Bible, and from the great laws of justice and righteousness, fail to strike a chord that will vibrate. The question of loss and gain pecuniarily is the great one with a very large proportion of our people. Convince them that slave labor will *pay*, and they will favor its introduction.

These things being so, if I were arranging a plan for placing arguments before our people in the shape of printed matter, I would give greater prominence to the *effects* of the institution in retarding our advance in material and moral greatness, than to the higher and really more important views of duty. 'Will it pay?' is the great question; and around that thought I would group my facts.

I presume you have tracts of the nature of those I speak of—comparisons between Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia and Pennsylvania, Illinois and Missouri—as also the more minute detail of loss and gain pecuniarily, physically, mentally and morally, to the individual slaveholder. In regard to those sent, perhaps Nos. 2 and 13 are the best adapted to our region, and unless withheld in view of sending such as I have suggested, some of them might be sent.

Our election for delegates to the Constitutional Convention occurs in June, and it is not likely the vote on a Constitution will occur before September or October. There is little doubt that the question of slavery or no slavery will be submitted in a separate schedule, so that any matter circulated here bearing on the subject will have its influence, up to the time of the vote. The only way of placing printed matter here in time will be by mail or express, unless you are apprised of opportunities to send in the trunks of travellers. Doubtless such opportunities frequently occur.—Packages left with Abernethy, Clark & Co., San Francisco, will be promptly forwarded. My hope and my belief are, that we shall escape the curse of slavery. I do not think the majority of our people greatly desire its introduction; but my worst fears grow out of the *necessities of the Democratic party*, as a national party. That *name* is all-powerful here; and should the day come, when, as a party, they find it necessary to create a slave State to maintain the ascendancy, and openly take the field in Oregon on that question, *then* they must lose heavily by so doing, or Oregon must be lost to freedom.

During the past week, we have had our Bible, Tract and Temperance Anniversaries, and have had some opportunity to compare notes. My opinion is strengthened that we shall not have slavery in Oregon. Opinions, so far as I have been able to gather them, concur that we will have a very considerable majority against slavery; and we are doubtless safer while discussion can be kept down to the point of cool and quiet investigation of facts, than we shall be if any excited and angry controversy springs up.—Brown's speech in regard to Missouri emancipation is published here this week, and will do good; also, the Address of the Immigrant Aid Association.

From the New York Tribune.

### THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

There is perhaps nothing in which the old fogy journals of all classes, especially our American sham Democratic journals, have taken greater delight than in the idea, out of which they have striven to squeeze by constant repetition the utmost satisfaction it could be made to afford, that the British West Indies have been ruined, and especially that the sugar cultivation of those colonies has been destroyed, by the emancipation of the slaves.

It is said of the visit to England of that good clergyman, Commissary Blair, of Virginia, to solicit some assistance from the Crown toward the foundation of the College of William and Mary, that to his representation that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved, he got from Attorney-General Seymour only the gruff and curt reply, 'Damn your souls; make tobacco.' This race of Attorney-Generals and philanthropists is not yet by any means extinct. It seems to have been the opinion of a large class of persons, that the West Indies and their inhabitants exist only for the purpose of producing sugar; and all the sympathy ever expressed by a large proportion of American journals toward the great experiment of free labor, of civilization and of education going on there might be included in the corresponding curse and injunction, 'Damn your souls; make sugar!'

But this taunt, so often and so triumphantly repeated, and with such deep satisfaction to those who employ it, is, like other human felicities, likely to prove short-lived. In fact, it has become already no longer available—at least among those who keep themselves informed as to the progress of events. Struggling through the inconveniences always attending every great change, and having been obliged to encounter not one great change, but another also on the top of that; not merely the trials of emancipation, but the still severer trials of free trade; obliged not merely to pay wages to their laborers and to be content with that amount of labor which the laborers choose to dispose of, but obliged also to surrender that protection which from the first introduction of the sugar cultivation they had always enjoyed, and to compete in the market with slave-grown sugars, the British West India Colonies have, nevertheless, gradually come back to an amount of production nearly approaching that of any former period. Barbados and Antigua, the oldest and most thickly settled of the British islands, make more sugar by free labor than they ever did in the most flourishing period of slave cultivation, while in every respect the condition of the inhabitants is vastly improved. British Guiana—which a certain pro-slavery journal of this city that makes vast pretensions to general intelligence will persist in speaking of as an *island*—has come back to the old mark, and, as is stated in a private letter we have seen, the sugar planters are making fortunes. The same is the case in Trinidad, where the production has been carried far beyond the limit of the slave time, and whence large quantities—quite a new feature in the trade of the West Indies—are now shipped to the United States. We quote on this subject from The Port of Spain *Gazette*:

'The amount of produce shipped to America will, we should think, afford matter for serious speculation to our British merchants. There are now more than 1,700 tuns of American shipping loading in the Gulf, and equal to 227 hhds. of sugar, and 242 puncheons of molasses have left for that market since our last summary was written. In return, the stocks of American goods on hand are very large; breadstuffs, lumber, &c., are in abundance and cheap. But the arrivals are looked upon with very different eyes now, when we know that each vessel is likely to take our sugar away in return, to what it was when nothing went but hard cash.'

But while the other Colonies are thus recovering themselves, the haters of liberty and maligners of free labor have continued to draw vast satisfaction from the condition of Jamaica, which, co-operating with one or two local journals of that island in the old slave interest, they have—in print—ruined over and over again, and reduced to the last stage of poverty, misery, abandonment and desolation. Very active and conspicuous among the ill birds thus busy in fouling their own nest, and in helping, by spreading panic, to bring about their own prediction that Jamaica must and soon would cease to be a sugar growing Colony, has been *The Colonial Standard and Jamaica Dispatch*. That journal, printed at Kingston, has been, ever since the Emancipation question was first mooted, most consistently pro-slavery and most profusely lachrymose—a Colonial Jeremiah, as it were, lamenting over, not the captivity, but the freedom of its country—a West Indian Niobe, pouring out a perpetual flood of tears, not over lost children, but over lost slaves. But even *The Colonial Standard*, after sitting so long in darkness and sadness, begins at last to see light and happiness, as witness the following from that paper of June 4:

'It used, in some quarters, a few years ago, to be said of *The Colonial Standard*, that it wrote up the ruin of the country, to the injury of those who were compelled either to cultivate its soil, or to live by the substantial credit of the commonwealth; and there were many who considered that we did positive wrong to the community by publishing the truth. We believed then, as we believe still, that it was only by making the actual state of the Colony known to the Government and to the people, that there was the remotest chance of awakening the attention of the British public to the grievances under which Jamaica then suffered. We hope, however, none will have been induced to consider us as merely the oracles of evil. We should have been too happy, during the last twelve years, to have been the unvarying reporters of protracted and undeniable prosperity, if the condition of the Colony could have justified us in adopting that line of public policy; and, therefore, it is with heartfelt satisfaction that, during the last eighteen months, we have been enabled to announce the gradual progress of affairs toward improvement, and it is still more gratifying to feel that this improvement, progressive as it has been, is likely to be of at least considerable duration, if it be not of actual permanence.'

From another recent number of that paper we copy the following:—

'The Port of Kingston presents an animated appearance. It is said that there are more vessels in the harbor than there have been at any one period for the last ten years. On one particular day last week, we learn that no less than upward of 8,000 barrels of flour arrived.'

This flour, be it noted, comes from the United States; the laboring population of Jamaica, in spite of their alleged return to barbarism, are now consuming large quantities of flour in place of the corn meal—the only imported article of food, except a little salt fish, to which, during the slave time, they were ever treated.

We also give elsewhere, copied from the same paper, an account of an 'Industry School,' which would go to show that while sugar-making is attended to, the fact that the Jamaica people have souls, however disregarded by the large landed proprietors, is not wholly overlooked in humble quarters. We give, also, another still more interesting article from another Jamaica paper, *The Kingston Morning Journal*, a letter containing an account of the replanting with cane of one of those abandoned plantations over which the advocates of slavery have hurrahed and shouted so lustily. Great Valley Estate, the property in question, used formerly to be considered the second estate in value in the parish of Hanover. It comprises a freehold of four thousand acres, well situated and easy of access. It had made formerly five or six hundred hogsheads of sugar, and since emancipation upward of two hundred. But, like all the other estates of whose abandonment we have heard, it had the misfortune to belong to a non-resident proprietor, and to be managed by an attorney who made himself famous for running out and throwing up all the estates with which he was connected. Though there was a large population near by, including the former slaves of the estate, he quarreled with them and then pretended that he could get no labor. Each succeeding crop became less, until some five or six years since the cattle were turned into the few remaining cane fields, the coppers scattered, the mill sold, the engine sent away, and the works left to fall in ruins. Of the ruinous condition of this once fine estate, the letter to which we refer contains a graphic account.

A few weeks since, this estate passed into the hands of a resident proprietor, who has determined again to re-establish it. In the letter, which we print elsewhere, will be found an interesting account of the planting of the first cane, to which the neighboring black population joyously and gratuitously contributed both labor and plants from their own sugar patches. This evidence of the growth of the idea of common interest between proprietor and laborer is a most fortunate sign for Jamaica, since it has been the hostility and suspicion with which—almost entirely through the fault and folly of old-time attorneys and overseers—these two classes have regarded each other, which has contributed more than anything else to diminish the sugar produce of the island. It is only necessary that the other abandoned estates should pass into the hands of intelligent, resident proprietors, and that they should be re-established with all the modern improvements in manufacture, to carry the production of sugar in Jamaica to a higher point than it has ever yet attained. These abandoned estates are already attracting attention. We find in the *Colonial Standard* of the 8th of June, the following paragraph:—

'We have learned, with much pleasure, that among the passengers for this island, by the present steamer, is a gentleman named Evans, who visits Jamaica with the intention of investing such an amount of capital as he may find room for employing in the cultivation of sugar. We have reason to believe that the improved prospect of Colonial agriculture is likely to tempt to this island a considerable amount of that money support which has for a long time been sought for in vain; and our only hope is, that the influence likely to be brought into immediate connection with the Colony, may be sufficient to induce the Government to consider whether some active measures may not be immediately taken for increasing the supply of available labor.'

The *Falmouth Post*, another Jamaica journal, speaks as follows:—

'Capitalists in England are not the only parties to whom we look for the restoration of the country to prosperity. We have capitalists among us who are determined to aid in the good work, and it is satisfactory to learn that the speculations into which they have already entered, have turned out well. Liberal offers are made for all the properties that are advertised to be sold by public auction or otherwise, and there is every probability that our annual export will be doubled as soon as the capabilities of the soil are fully developed. With the introduction of capital, immigration of the right kind will follow as a matter of course, and an increased population will lead to the revival of commerce.'

Without looking, however, to immigrants from abroad, of which, except the recent ship-load of released slaves captured off the coast of Cuba, Jamaica has received none for several years, there is a considerable amount of resident labor available for sugar planting. Although a large part of the former slaves of Jamaica have become landed proprietors, and are now engaged in raising provisions on their own lands—a result to which the precipitate abandonment of sugar estates has not a little tended—still these cultivators are ready to dispose, for wages, of a certain portion of their labor. The *Morning Journal*, while expressing the opinion that there are portions of the island in which no amount of wages would tempt the laborers to give up their own lands, and to reduce themselves to the condition of mere hired laborers, yet asserts that the peasantry generally are willing to labor for wages to the extent of one task a day for four days in the week.—To obtain this labor, however, overseers must adopt a different policy from that which the Cornwall *Chronicle*, (printed in that part of the island in which the abandonment policy has been most general,) describes as having reduced a fine estate of two or three hundred acres to a miserable pittance of forty.

'Rarely does he (i. e. the overseer) speak to the people without an oath. He continually mourns for the old slave system, and wishes he had the unlimited power of the lash, and thus to the people themselves—brutes and villains, rascals and scoundrels, are his usual epithets. What is the consequence? He laments he cannot get work done, complains that the people have no interest in his welfare, and that they rather would, than otherwise, see stock trespassing in his cane-fields, and will not lift a hand or move a foot to drive out the trespassers. The peasantry are by no means bad peasantry, and this feeling would never have existed had the laborers been treated with even ordinary kindness. There is no scarcity of labor in this and neighboring parishes of this island; a kind word goes a great way; rigid honesty in dealing with the people and punctual payments will ensure to an estate an abundant supply. Let but any one make the experiment, and we will guarantee success.'

No wonder that the stupid folly and ignorance of the English non-resident proprietors in entrusting their interests in such hands should have resulted in a panic, of the immediate operation of which the Falmouth *Post* gives the following account:—

'During the period that proprietors and mortgagees manifested a desire to part with their broad acres, if one of the best estates in the island were thrown into the market, the largest amount that could be obtained for it was 3500*l.* to 4000*l.*, and many properties in favorable localities were sold for much less. The suicidal system of dismantling and ultimate abandonment was generally pursued; and in every district of the island, as the Rev. Dr. King forcibly remarked—"Neglected fields, crumbling houses, fragmentary fences, noiseless machinery, were common sights, and soon became familiar to observation." In a few instances, large freeholds were sold for prices absolutely insignificant; in others, *offers to lease were rejected*, and the work of destruction carried on to a fearful extent; on the south side, the traveller might ride a score of miles without seeing the least sign of cane cultivation; and in the county of Cornwall, even in those localities where labor is abundant, and the peasantry willing to accept low wages, estates were thrown up, and various causes assigned for doing so. One party declared that there was no possibility of continuing the manufacture of the staple products of the Colony without protective duties—another contended that there could not be successful competition with foreign rivals while encouragement was held out to a certain extent by the British Government, to the prosecution of the slave-trade—a third complained that continuous labor could not be procured from the peasantry without the payment of high wages, which none could afford; and on all sides there was a general demand for the importation of immigrants at the cost of the public. The leasing of properties, and an improved, economical system of management were recommended, but the recommendation was unheeded; nothing would answer but aid from the Imperial Parliament, and this was refused.'

All such panics, however, always have the beneficial effect of taking property out of the hands of persons unfit to manage it; and according to the same journal, the recent rise in the price of sugar 'has led to vast speculations, *and the raising up of a resident proprietary body*. Estates are no longer considered valueless; throughout the island ready purchasers are to be found; and there is every prospect of returning prosperity.' Jamaica, in fact, is passing through the same process which is resulting in the regeneration of Ireland. The lands are passing into the hands of proprietors with the knowledge and means and common sense necessary to bring them into successful cultivation.

THEODORE PARKER AND THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL. We mentioned some days ago, that an invitation which the directors of the above named society had extended to Mr. Parker to lecture before them, had been disapproved by the association itself. The matter has been again considered, and after a debate, which is reported in the Montreal *Herald*, the following resolve was adopted:—

Resolved, That the resolution passed by the semi-annual meeting, in relation to Theodore Parker, be now re-affirmed. That this Institution, while it disclaims any intention of repressing liberty of expression, but on the contrary regards such liberty as an invaluable blessing, claims the right of preserving harmony and union by excluding such lectures as are well known to be offensive to a large portion of its members; that in the adoption of this resolution, no discourtesy is intended towards the lecturer whose name has been mentioned, the only consideration being the preservation of that good feeling and cordiality among the members, so essential to the welfare and prosperity of the Mercantile Library Association.

*Interesting Correspondence.*—The Cleveland *Herald* prints the following correspondence:—

To LAMBERT WHITE, Treasurer of the Democratic Party:—The bearer, Don McIntosh, has done a good deal towards the election of old Buck, I think he should be compensated for his services and that of his express wagon.

(Signed) GALLAGHER.

To Mr. GALLAGHER: DEAR SIR:—Ther is no funds in the Democratic Treasury as I am a ware of Giv him an order on J. W. Gray or Benjamin Andrews the funds were all spent in Whisky.

(Signed) L. W.

☞ The Hallowell *Gazette* says that Mr. Davis, of Portland, has fifteen hens, of the Bolton Gray breed, which have laid, during the months of March, April and May, *ninety-three dozen* eggs.

*A Sure Way to Prevent Hydrophobia.*—In New York city, fifty cents a-head is paid for every dog brought to the pound, at the corner of First Avenue and 31st street. Consequently, the vagrant boys chase down every vagrant dog that they are able to, for the sake of the reward. In 1851, there were 2230 dogs received; last year, the number had increased to 5345; and this season the receipts are a hundred a day.

*The Colored Masons* of Philadelphia have lately built a new Hall, costing $13,500, which was dedicated on Wednesday. The order had been established in this country by the highest Masonic authority in England, through the institution of the African Lodge in Boston, in 1784. The warrant of authority bears the signatures of Thomas Howard, Earl of Effington, Lord Howard, and Frederick, Duke of Cumberland.

☞ The French *Moniteur de la Flotte* publishes a letter from Sebastopol, in which it is asserted that the vessels raised in that harbor were those which were merely grounded in shallow water, receiving slight damage; while those sunk as barriers are imbedded in the sand above the bilge, and were immovable.

*An Experimental Trip Across the Atlantic.*—Mr. Charles R. Webb, of Stamford, Conn., has built a sloop-rigged yacht, forty-three feet long and thirteen and a half feet beam, and of twenty tons burden, with which he intends to run over to Liverpool, and expects to reach there in three weeks from starting. This is probably the smallest craft that ever attempted such a feat of navigation.

☞ The Atalanta (Ga.) *Intelligencer* is informed by Dr. E. F. Alexander, of that city, that during the late 'small pox panic,' he had vaccinated over 200 children, and that he has found vaccination a speedy and permanent cure for the whooping cough.

*The Gallows.*—On Friday last, George W. Sharpe and John Johnson were hanged by the sheriff at Edwardsville, near Alton, Illinois. On the same day, three men, named La Pointe, Shultes and Neuslein, were hanged by the sheriff, in the yard of the county jail, at St. Louis, Missouri. The crime of each of these wretched men was murder.

☞ Hon. A. G. G. Talbot, the Democratic nominee for Congress in the 4th district of Kentucky, was an avowed emancipationist in 1850. He was then a member of the Legislature, and introduced a resolution favoring emancipation in Kentucky, and in his speeches declared himself for freedom in every State of the Union. The Louisville *Journal*, the leading American paper in Kentucky, now quotes this speech against him.

*The Comet.*—The Comet was seen from various localities, near the Ursa Major. It presented a round nebulous mass of light, slightly concentrated, of about two minutes of an arc in diameter. It passed the nearest point to the earth on the 8th ult. It was then about two millions of miles from our globe. It has since been receding.


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REV. A. FRINK, Silver Creek, N. Y. 'It has produced a good effect on my hair, and I can and have recommended it.'

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REV. B. C. SMITH, Prattsburgh, N. Y. 'I was surprised to find my grey hair turn as when I was young.'

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☞ We might swell this list, but, ifnot convinced

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Boston, May 1, 1857. 1y

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